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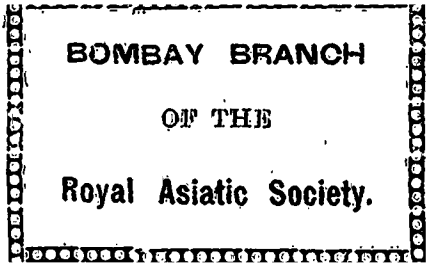

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SELECTIONS

FROM THE

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THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

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REPORT ON THE SETTLEMENT

OF THE

PESHAWUR DISTRICT.

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REPORT ON THE SETTLEMENT

OF THE

PESHAWUR DISTRICT,

BY

MAJOR HUGH R. JAMES, C. B.,

COMMISSIONER AND SUPERINTENDENT, PESHAWUR DIVISION.

PREFACE.

In order to account for the apparently abrupt conclusion of this Report, it is necessary to explain that the lamented Major James had originally divided it into four parts:—

I.—Historical.
II.—Descriptive.
III.—Settlement.
IV.—Military and political with a detailed narrative of the border.

Under the instructions of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor, Part IV. was excluded in order that it might be enlarged and submitted separately. The three parts, however, which are herewith published, are complete in themselves, and contain information not only of great interest, but of great value, to all who may be employed on that frontier on which Major James himself played so distinguished a part, and where his name will be long remembered as one of our ablest political officers, and one who had done much to maintain peace and order among a people whose traditions are anarchy and misrule.

EDWARD LAKE,
Financial Commissioner
for the Punjab.

Lahore,
June 1865.

REPORT

ON THE

SETTLEMENT

OF

THE PESHAWUR DISTRICT;

BY

MAJOR HUGH R. JAMES, C. B.

The Peshawur District, the most northerly of British Trans-Indus Territory, is bounded to the north and north-east by the hills which separate it from Swat and Bonair, two of the numerous vallies formed by the lower ridges and spurs running parallel to the higher range of the Hindoo Koosh.

2. To the north-west it reaches the hilly tract which extends on either side of the Cabool River, and seems to connect the ranges of the Hindoo Koosh and Soliman by a network of mountains of inferior height, occupied in this portion by the Osman Khail and Momund tribes.

3. A spur from the Soliman Range, which runs from Soofaid Koh to the Indus, the western portion of which is commonly denominated the Khyber, and the eastern the Khuttuk mountains, forms its boundary to the south-west and south: the latter portion separating it from the Kohat District.

4. The plain is thus encircled by mountains with the exception of a small portion to the south-east, where it is open to the Indus, which forms its boundary there, and divides it from the opposite plain of Chuch in the Rawul Pindee District.

5. The upper portion of this boundary, from the Indus in the east to Jumrood in the west, forms a semi-circle; but from that point the lower portion, taking a curve in the south-west, runs up in a straight line to the Indus at Attock.

6. The district contains an area of 2,400 square miles, and is divided through its whole extent by the Cabool River, which enters the plain at Michni, and falls into the Indus immediately above Attock: it is joined midway at Nisuttah by the Swat River from the north-west,

which enters the plain at Abozai; and at nearly the same point by the Bara River from the south-west, which enters the plain near Shekhan.

7. The Cabool River divides itself into three branches near Michni. The most northerly or Adezai branch falls into the Swat River near Charsudda; the central or Nagooman branch is the main stream; and the southern or Shah Alum re-unites with the Cabool River a little above its junction with the Swat at Nisuttah.

8. The local name for the Cabool River from the point where it leaves the hills to its junction with the Swat is the "Nagooman"; between the latter point and the Indus the united waters are known as the "Lundye."

9. Both the Adezai and Shah Alum branches are usually fordable for ten months in the year, but the Nagooman is only sometimes fordable at two places in December and January.

10. The water of the former is clear, and flows chiefly in a pebbly bed; but that of the main stream is turbid. The river commences to rise in April, attaining its greatest height in July and August, and falling to its winter level in November. During the above period the current is very strong and rapid, with so variable a course that a ferry is seldom to be found in the same spot for two successive years. In most places the overflow is not extensive, but the surplus waters are conveyed over the adjoining districts by numerous canals and cuts. Below Naoshera it runs generally between high banks, and attains a greater velocity. The navigation of this part is rendered more dangerous by the number of rocks and whirlpools in its course.

11. The Swat River flows for some distance from the hills in one stream; its waters are clear and cold. In many places the bed is choked with rocks, and at such points the river presents the appearance of a foaming rapid. The ferry at Abozai, immediately below one of these obstructions, is a dangerous one; there is a ford here which is practicable for three or four months, but the passage is generally attended with risk on account of the strong current and the boulders which are met with. On one occasion, when a troop of horse artillery was fording at this place, two of the men were carried down the current and drowned, and similar accidents have been frequent. The late Colonel Mackeson was the only person I have heard of who has swam across the Swat River at its flood; though Lieutenant Peyton, of Her Majesty's 87th Regiment, rescued a native from drowning midway in the stream, an act of manly daring which deserves a record.

12. Below Abozai the stream divides into many channels, winding through rich meadows, their banks fringed with the Willow and Poplar, and forming many small islands. Most of these are fordable in many places throughout the year, but in the main stream ferries are worked for eight months. The waters of all these channels are re-united, and flow in one stream from Charsudda to Nisuttah where they join the Cabool River.

13. The Bara is at most seasons of the year a diminutive stream fed by the drainage of the Teerah Hills, and by some clear and copious springs in the neighbourhood of the fort of that name, celebrated for their salubrity. Many of the Sikh Sirdars caused supplies of this water to be brought to them daily to Peshawur in sealed vessels. The greater portion of the water is diverted near the fort into the water courses of Khuleel and Momund, and one cut conveys a supply through the cantonments and city of Peshawur. In ordinary times, therefore, the lower part of the Bara is altogether or nearly dry; but after rain has fallen in the Teerah Hills, a muddy volume rushes down which renders it impassable for several days. It crosses both the Kohat and Attock Roads: at the former, a good timber bridge has been constructed by Sir William Hamilton, but at the latter and more important crossing, the sudden rising of the Bara is still attended with serious delays and inconvenience. This stream gives its name to the celebrated Bara Rice, which is grown in some of the villages on its banks. The Sikhs required the whole crop to be brought to Peshawur, where the best portion was reserved for seed, the next best was sent to Runjeet Singh at Lahore, and the remainder left to the Zemindars. No such care being now taken to preserve a good supply of seed, the quality of the rice has deteriorated, though still held in high estimation.

14. The Bara is probably the river alluded to by Baber in his memoirs as flowing in the vicinity of Peshawur, though he calls it the "Siahab"—a name which cannot be locally traced. There is, however, the dry bed of a branch of the Cabool River, which once flowed near Peshawur, and which may have been the Siahab; a name much more appropriate to the muddy waters of the Cabool than to the usually clear stream of the Bara. But since Baber's time the physical features of the country have undergone great changes, and such points cannot now be accurately determined: in the passage referred to, the Emperor mentions the fact of his hunting the Rhinoceros at Peshawur on the banks of the Siahab, which would indicate the existence in the neighbourhood of forest jungle. In those days, too, before its waters had been diverted for irrigation by many canals, the Bara must have had a much larger volume of water in it at all seasons; in its present condition, Baber would scarcely have called it a river.

15. The Indus between Torbela and Attock divides itself into numerous channels, several of the islands formed by which are covered with forests of Sissoo, employed by the Sikhs for the manufacture of their gun carriages, and used in boat-building. These islands serve also as pasture grounds for the cattle of villages on both banks. At Attock the stream is again confined between mountain barriers: the rocks in this locality present a polished black appearance from the constant washing of sand over their surface. There are two ferries, besides the principal one at Attock, in this portion of the Indus: there are also four fords, barely practicable during the cold season. Armies have crossed by them on emergencies, but with much loss.

16. The boats used at the ferries on all the rivers are flat-bottomed, with projecting poops and fronts; they are made of Dayâr and Sissoo wood; the planks being four inches in thickness, clamped and bound with iron. They have no rudders, but are guided by four sculls (chappas), two in front, and two behind.

17. The boatmen form a kind of guild, and possess hereditary rights at their several ferries. Those at Attock enjoy a Jâgir, originally granted to them by Akhbar, of Rs. 500 per annum. Wherever the Government has been strong enough, one-half of the tolls has been claimed as its share, though the boats are the property of the men, and kept in repair by them. At the minor ferries the payments are usually made in kind every season by the villages in the vicinity who make use of them. Some of them engage in agriculture, where their numbers are larger than required for ferry purposes, as at Jehangira. They are active and hard-working men, and very expert in the construction of bridges-of-boats over rapid rivers.

18. The main streams, both of the Cabool and Swat Rivers, are navigable throughout the valley: but within the hills, except at certain points where there are ferries, the current is too strong, and the bed too rocky for the use of boats. On this portion of the river, rafts of timber, or inflated skins, are employed to bring down merchandize from Jelalabad and Lalpoora to Michni: the tolls levied from them in transit by the Momunds are so high, and the frequent inspection of the rafts by unscrupulous and greedy gangs so harassing, that the land route is generally preferred.

19. Not only the boatmen, but most of the residents in villages adjacent to any of the rivers, are skilled in crossing the stream at any season upon a "Shinaz," or inflated skin. The practice is useful both to individuals and the public, but as many robbers adopt the same, it has been found necessary to check the custom by requiring licenses to be taken out for the purpose. I am afraid the check is all the wrong way: a hill-robber brings down his *unlicensed* skin under his arm, and as readily packs it up and takes it away: his pursuit, at all times doubtful, becomes impossible where there are no licensed skins in a village. The Michni Momunds are particularly expert in this mode of passage: gangs of them would float down the river by night and surprise a village, murdering some of the inhabitants, and carrying off property and Hindoos, forcing the latter to get upon their backs whilst they swam across. When the head men of a village bear a good character, I have given out licenses very freely, knowing that the hardships, which would otherwise be imposed on many of the agricultural communities, would be very great.

20. In connection with these rivers I may allude to the disastrous effects which sometimes result from the stoppage of the Indus many hundred miles from Attock by the fall of glaciers or landslips; the accumulated waters finally burst the barrier, and, rushing down the terrific violence, spread themselves over the plains of Eusufzai and Chuch. In

1841 a stoppage of this kind occurred; the flood took place at night, and it is estimated that between 5 and 6,000 lives were lost; all the villages within several miles of the banks were washed away. The Indus before these floods remains for some time unusually low; any change of this nature in its appearance leads to a general panic amongst the villages within their influence. In 1858 this change was observed, and in June and July there were vague rumours of a coming flood. At length on 10th August it came, and in the course of a few hours the river at Attock had risen 90 feet. The waters of the Cabool River were driven back, and continued to flow "up stream" for nearly 12 hours at a rate of from 4 to 5 miles an hour, a circumstance from which some estimate of the force of the flood may be formed. This retrogade flow was observed as far as Nisuttah. Occurring early in the day, the people were enabled to save themselves, but the loss in property and cattle was very great. Eight villages were entirely destroyed, no vestige of them remained, and upwards of 20 were more or less injured. All the private dwelling-houses in the cantonments of Naoshera were washed down, and in some of the barracks (pucca buildings) there were six feet of water—but no lives were lost.

21. In both the Indus (above Attock) and the Cabool Rivers, auriferous deposits are found, though not extensively. Some of the boatmen, during the cold weather, work as gold-washers in gangs of from 5 to 7, and collect on an average from 2 to 2½ tolas each in the season, the gold selling at Peshawur at 15 per tola: this would yield them about two annas per diem whilst actually employed. They use large wooden trays six feet in length and sieves. No tax is taken from them now, but under the Sikhs one-fourth of the proceeds was paid to the Kardar whose license was necessary before they plied their trade. In some places a tax was taken of two rupees per tray, and the proprietors of the soil received another rupee. About 150 men may be thus annually employed, and it is not unusual for them to receive advances for the work from the gold purchasers at Peshawur. These deposits indicate the presence of gold in the hill, but the latter are beyond our reach: a mine has been lately discovered near Kandahar, but its value has not yet been fully tested by the Ameer. Still the gold washings of these rivers might be advantageously examined by those who possess the necessary qualifications.

22. Between the Indus and the Swat Rivers the frontier is irregular, the spurs forming numerous smaller vallies, with others running up on both sides and hemmed in by high precipices, in which secure nooks are located many of the villages of the occupying clans. The hills are for the most part bare, but the higher ones are fringed with pine, and the sides of others are scantily clothed with brushwood: they afford, however, good pasturage for the cattle and flocks. These vallies will be more particularly described hereafter as regards their several peculiarities, but in general it may be said that they are intersected by numerous drains from the hills, the sloping banks of which are so perforated and cut up as to form a network of ravines, and a strong natural barrier against the ap-

proach of bodies of men not acquainted with the localities. High cultivated ridges occupy the intervening spaces sloping down to these ravines; those nearer the hills being usually covered with a layer of loose stones. The plain outside these vallies is dry and level, with an alluvial soil, falling somewhat towards the Indus and Cabool Rivers, with a high tract of broken uncultivated land extending along the left bank of the latter. This plain forms, with the above vallies, the Pergunnahs of Eusufzai and Hushtnuggur; a strip only, from the Cabool River at Naoshera to Bazaar on the Indus, being attached to that of Khuttuk. The large villages of Hushtnuggur are situated on the banks of the Swat River, and those of Eusufzai lie chiefly towards the hills and on the Indus; the vast intervening plain running from the Osman Khail Hills to the Indus has but a few small hamlets: it is called the "Mehra," and is cultivated throughout, yielding with but little labor spring crops of great richness. Three principal streams carry off the drainage of the hills across the plain. The Kulpanee receives the waters of the Swat mountains: one branch springs from the foot of the Mullakund Range, and runs through the Ranezai Valley, meeting the other which comes down the neighbouring valley of Baezai or Loondkhwur at Goojur Gurhee, whence the united waters, passing through the Tuppas of Hotee and Toroo, fall into the Cabool River near Naoshera.

23. The Mokam collects the waters of the Bonair Hills at the head of the Soodum Valley, and, passing by Gurhee Kapoor, joins the Kulpanee near Toroo.

24. The Budree rises in the Punjtar Hills, and falls into the Indus at Hind. All these streams have but little water in them during the hot season, flowing from springs which are met with towards their course and at lower points in their beds; but they fill after rain has fallen in the hills, and acquire the force of torrents, becoming impassable for many hours. The springs were formerly much more copious than at present, but were injuriously affected by the great earthquake of 1842. At most of the villages under the hills good springs are met with, but at those on the plain water is obtained from kutcha wells of no great depth. This portion of the district is very destitute of trees, which are to be found only about the villages near detached wells, or covering burial grounds, in which localities groves of Mulberry, Sissoo, Bukain, and Tamarisk trees are met with. Several extensive islands on the Indus produce dense forests of Sissoo.

25. But the "Mehra" was not always void of habitation, for we find scattered over its surface numerous mounds, which were clearly the sites of villages in former times, now covered with fragments of pottery and bricks. But local tradition does not attempt to specify the race by which those deserted sites were occupied, or the date of their disappearance; that they were infidels is all that can be gathered.

26. The Osman Khail and Momund Hills, which latter form the boundary of the Doaba Pergunnah, lying between the Swat and Cabool

Rivers, are lower, and do not possess the bold and prominent features which mark those of Swat and Bonair. They are destitute of trees, and have but scanty vegetation of any kind; a few shrubs are sprinkled about their base, chiefly Oleander or "Kow." Bare, stony, and irregular, they rise abruptly from the plain, their ridges running parallel to the border, and not forming vallies as in Eusufzai. Opposite Shubkuddur, at Punjpao, they fall back and form an amphitheatre, occupied by a table land some 3 miles in breadth and 2 in depth, stony and intersected by some ravines. They retire again on approaching the Cabool River, running nearly parallel to it for a few miles, and meeting it at Michni. A "Mehra" runs along the foot of these hills for their whole extent, varying in depth from 1 to 5 miles. Very little of this is cultivated, but it produces excellent pasture for the cattle of the villages. The remainder of the Doaba Pergunnah, so called from its position between the Cabool and Swat Rivers, is fertile and highly cultivated: the villages numerous, and the country better wooded than in other parts.

27. From Michni to the Bara river, the Moolagoree and Afreedee hills are loftier, but bare and irregular as those of the Momunds. The Tarturra peak, over the entrance to the Khyber Pass, rises to a height of 6,000 feet, and from its summit may be obtained a view of that defile, and a large portion of the Ningrehar valley. The interior of these hills produces great quantities of firewood, but no large trees; their sides are rocky and precipitous. They present the appearance more of groups of mountains, than of a connected chain, and form the western limit of the Khuleel Pergunnah, which is bounded on the east by the Bhoodnee stream, from Michni to Peshawur, and to the south, by the Bara river. The eastern portion of the Pergunnah is well cultivated, but a strip of Mehra runs down its western side from 1 to 5 miles in depth, partially cultivated in places, and serving for pasturage in others: but the portion between Peshawur and Jumrood is stony, whilst to the south of those places the country is undulating, the spaces between the ridges being cut up by drains from the hills, forming in parts deep ravines. The cantonment of Peshawur is built upon one of the ridges here spoken of, and was consequently surrounded by such broken and raviney ground, until levelled and filled in with much labor.

28. From the Bara river to the Kohat Pass the hills of the Aka Khail, and thence to the Jawakai Pass, those of the Adam Khail, form the western and southern boundaries of the Momund Pergunnah: further in they furnish large quantities of firewood, but are bare and rocky towards the plain. The villages of this Pergunnah are situated on the Bara, and a few large ones are located near the hills to the south; the remainder is waste, a Mehra running under the hills and crossing the district to the vicinity of the Attock road, deep and stony ravines intersect it, the lurking places and highways of Afreedee robbers from time immemorial.

29. The Khuttuk range continues the boundary to the Indus, maintaining an average height of from 3 to 5,000 feet. The higher

parts of these hills, though destitute of large forest trees, are clothed with smaller vegetation, consisting principally of the wild olive; the Khuttuk Pergunnah is an irregular mass of low hills between this range and the Cabool river, a narrow strip of plain only occurring close to the latter, along which the Grand Trunk Road is carried; the villages are situated in defiles and on ledges amongst these hills, and cultivation is scanty.

30. The Pergunnahs, not mentioned in this general glance at the hills on the border, are Daodzai and Khalsa: the former lying between the Boodnee and Cabool river, and the latter extending from Peshawur to Naoshera, adjoining towards the west, the Daodzai and Momund Pergunnahs.

31. It will thus be seen, that with the exception of the Eusufzai border, where cultivated valleys run up into the hills, and the Khuttuk Pergunnah, which is itself a mass of low hills, a waste tract intervenes between the cultivated part of the district and the mountain border, of an average depth of from 3 to 4 miles, for the most part stony and intersected by ravines: that the western and central portions of the district, within the influence of the rivers and their branches, are highly cultivated, and that the remainder is an unirrigated plain with a fertile soil, and yielding extensive crops in ordinary seasons.

32. Dr. Lord was of opinion, from certain geological facts, such as the structure of igneous rocks, poured out under strong pressure, the presence of fossil shells, &c., that the valleys of Peshawur, Jelalabad, and Cabool were at some former period the receptacles of inland lakes; and that the drainage of these basins, now carried on by the Cabool river, was in those times effected by the bursting of the mountain barriers. He considered that the shattered fragments and rolled blocks, that strew the Khyber Pass, bear testimony to its once having afforded exit to a mighty rush of waters, while the Geedur Gullee, a defile east of the plain, points out the course of the torrent towards the bed of the Indus. In support of this view, Dr. Lord mentions the fact that a well, sunk by the Sikhs in the fort of Jumrood, situated at the mouth of the Khyber, passed through rolled pebbles of slate and limestone (the constituents of the Khyber range) to a depth of 200 feet: whilst the wells of Peshawur, 14 miles distant, are generally 20 or 30 feet deep, and never passed through anything but mud and clay strata. If the plain had once been the basin of a lake, into which a stream had poured through the Khyber, the heavier matter, with which the stream was charged, would have been deposited at its very entrance into the lake, while the lighter mud and clay would have floated on to a considerable distance.

33. Although, as seen by a traveller on its high road, the general bare nature of the surrounding hills, the broad tracts of partial waste, and the numerous ravines which cross his path, tend to impart an air of wild sterility to the valley, especially in the winter months, when the deciduous character of the foliage makes it bleaker still, yet by those, who have had further means of observation, I think it must be conceded, that

the more extended appearance of the valley is pleasing and picturesque. The view, from any of the rising grounds about Peshawur, of the cultivated plain around, rich with fields of corn, and studded with villages and groves, with the clear, bold outline of the mountains, surmounted by the snowy peaks of the Hindoo Koosh and Sofaid Koh, cannot fail to charm, whilst the glens of Eusufzai, the slopes of the Khuttuk Range, and the banks of the Swat or Bara Rivers, abound with spots of rich and varied beauty.

34. Those who have travelled much amongst the Afghans, and visited them in their sequestered valleys, retain a pleasing impression of the general characteristics of their homes. Emerging from wild and craggy defiles, with a solitary tower here and there perched up on the overhanging rocks, the stranger comes suddenly upon the village site; springs of refreshing clearness pass from rocky cisterns to the brook which had repeatedly crossed his path in the defile, and which is here fringed with rows of weeping willow, and edged with brightest sward. The village is half hid from view with overshadowing mulberry and poplar trees, the surrounding fields enamelled with a profusion of wild flowers and fragrant with aromatic herbs. At some distance is seen a wood of thorn and tamarisk, in which are the graves of the village forefathers; an enclosing wall of stone, and the votive shreds which are suspended from the overhanging tree, pointing out the "ziyarut" of some saintly ancient, which children pass with awe, and old men with reverence. The dream of peace and comfort which the contemplation of such scenes suggests is, however, rudely dispelled by the armed ploughman who follows his cattle with a matchlock slung at his back; by the watch-tower occupied by a party of men to guard the growing crops; and by the heaps of stones visible in all directions, each of which marks the spot of some deed of blood. We cease, indeed, to be surprised at the love of home, which is so marked a feature of the Afghan character; for, reared in a little world of his own, the associations of his childhood must make a more than ordinary impression on his mind; but we might expect that such spots would engender other feelings than those which lurk in the breast of the robber and assassin.

35. Before entering further upon the details of the district, and a description of its present occupants, I will endeavour to relate such of its former history as we are enabled to gather from local records and tradition, or from the brief notices which we find scattered amongst the fuller chronicles of neighbouring empires; for Peshawur has never yet boasted of an entire independence, though, for several centuries, occupied by a people which has given Emperors to the East and to the West; but from its position on the great natural boundary between Central Asia and Hindoostan, it retained an importance which made it a desirable acquisition to the several conquerors who have succeeded each other in the supremacy of those countries which constitute the basin of the Indus.

36. Its name has given rise to various speculations, and that which has been commonly, though erroneously, accepted of late years, has derived

its origin from a Persian combination supposed to signify an out-post or advanced position; but besides the unusual form of such combination, we have a sufficient reason for rejecting it as erroneous, in the fact that the name of Peshawur is a comparatively modern corruption; all authorities down to the end of the 16th century call it "Purshawur," and Akhoond Durweza, a local historian and renowned saint of Bonair, who flourished at that period, does the same, omitting, however, the long "a," and writing it پرشور "Purshor," (similarly we find the ancient Lahawur abbreviated to Lâhor), which, with the change of "ur" into "e," is very nearly the present local pronunciation: no Pathan would call it Peshawur. The Akhoond interprets the name as "full of turbulence;" certainly characteristic of the country for some ages past. But, unfortunately, the name is of too old a date to render his interpretation, or the Pathan pronunciation, of any value in the enquiry, further than as establishing the fact of the letter "r" being found in the first syllable. Another tradition, giving it a Hindoo origin, is far more probable; by which it is supposed to have been called after a king named Purrus or Purrush, and the late Sir Henry Elliot in his index observes, that "the Chinese divide the first syllable into Poo-loo-sha, the capital of the kingdom of Purrusha." It seems, therefore, most reasonable to conclude that the name is simply "the seat of Purrus," or Porus, the name of a king or family of kings: and that similarly "Lahawur" was the seat of Leh or Lah. In ancient times there was a city near the present site known as Begram, and the suburbs are still styled "Kushah Begram;" some mounds, to the west of the present town, being shown as the ruins of that place. But by no historian, whose works are extant, is it called by any other name than Purshawur, which leads to the conclusion that the word Begram, meaning simply "capital city," was applied generally to the chief towns of provinces; thus there are extensive ruins of an old city called Begram near Jelalabad, another in the vicinity of Cabool, and a third in Swat. We may infer, then, that Purshawur was the most ancient name of the district of which the chief place was Begram, upon, or near the ruins of which, at a subsequent period, the new city was erected and called by its present name.

37. We have no authentic record of the tribes seated about Peshawur before the time of Mahmood beyond the established fact of their being of Indian origin: it is not an improbable conjecture that they descended from the race of Yadoo, who were either expelled or voluntarily emigrated from Goojrat 1100 years before Christ, and who are afterwards found at Kandahar and the hills of Cabool, from whom, indeed, some would derive the Jadoons now residing in the hills north of Eusufzai, and occupying a considerable portion of the Huzara District. What little we hear of them before the period of authentic history, leads us to conclude that they were a bold and independent race, for we find them opposing the advance of a Persian Army sent to demand the tribute formerly conceded by the Princes of Hindoostan, but withheld by Sinkol, then Emperor of the country, six centuries before our era;

on this occasion the Persians are said to have been repulsed, but to have returned in greater force, and finally to have caused all the provinces upon the Indus to be ceded to them. The hill tribes, however, continued their independence, and we find them descending in the 5th century B. C. to prevent a Rajpoot Sovereign of Hindoostan from establishing himself on the Indus, whose name was Keda Rajah, contemporary with Hystaspes, father of Darius. We next hear of them opposing the renowned Macedonian conqueror on his advance against Porus, the 4th successor of the above Keda Rajah, recorded by Grecian historians as the Assassani. I must here notice the trifling resemblance which has been observed between the name of that tribe as handed down to us by the Greeks and that of Ashnuggur, their supposed country. This has arisen from the erroneous pronunciation of the latter, which is properly Hushtnuggur, and is the modern appellation of a Pergunnah on the banks of the Swat River, contiguous to Eusufzai, as above described, and so called from the eight large villages, now existing, of which it was composed, but which from time to time have put out their "bandahs" or hamlets as will be hereafter explained. The mistake has led to much misconception, and Swat has been even described by a writer of great repute as "a division of Ashnuggur, where dwelt the Assassani of Alexander." In other cases of such supposed similarities, we may not possess the same means of dispelling the delusion as in the instance just quoted, but the lapse of more than 2,000 years has wrought so many changes, social and physical, in a country beyond the limits of continuous historical record, that we may reasonably reject any argument founded alone upon such faint similarities in nomenclature; and I do not think we can trace, by such conjecture, any single existing site or tribe recorded by contemporary writers on the whole route from the Paropamisan mountains to the Sea.

38. About 20 years after the death of Alexander, Seleucus, finding himself master of all the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus, endeavoured to recover those beyond the latter river from which the Greeks had been expelled, B. C. 316, by Chandra Gupta (better known by us as Sandrocotta) who had established himself in them. Seleucus passed the Indus with this object B. C. 303, but made a treaty with his opponent, to whom he yielded the allegiance of all the provinces east of the Indus, together with the Peshawur and Cabool Valleys, Chandra Gupta furnishing him in return with 500 elephants.

39. Chandra Gupta and his Indian subjects were Budhists; and the reign of his grandson Asoka, who succeeded to the empire B. C. 263, is celebrated for his extension of that faith to Cabool and Cashmere. In this reign were published those rock edicts in favor of Budhism which are to be met with in many parts of the country. One of them is still standing in the vicinity of Sher Gurh in Eusufzai, though its characters are now scarcely to be traced after a lapse of more than 2,000 years. It was published by Asoka in the 10th or 12th year of his reign, and the inscription names as his cotemporaries

Antiochus II, who flourished from 262 to 247 B. C.; Ptolemy II, from 285 to 246; Antigonus, from 276 to 243; and Magus. And now the Englishman and the Afghan gaze together on this strange vestige of bye-gone times, upon which, in mystic characters, the names of Alexander's successors were inscribed as his cotemporaries by an Indian king! As in similar edicts, found elsewhere, great tenderness is expressed for animal life in accordance with the tenets of Budhism.

40. Shortly afterwards, in 241 B. C., a great propagandizer of that faith (Majjhautiko) was deputed to Peshawur, where he ordained many priests.

41. Mostly appertaining to this period are the ruins of large towns and forts to be met with in the valley, in the low hills bordering on Eusufzai, and along the course of the Swat and Cabool Rivers. The most perfect of these are on the Tukht-i-Baee, a hill at the entrance of the Loondkhwur Valley, which appear to contain buildings of a sacred character, as well as ordinary dwelling-houses. One is evidently a monastery with cells arranged round the quadrangle, and an altar in the centre. On the plain below are the remains of a large town and fortress. The ruins over Jumal Gurhee appear to be those of a citadel. The masonry at all these places, and of the wells, is of large burnt brick, stone, and lime.

42. From all such sites coins and pieces of statuary are to be excavated. The latter are, in many instances, chastely and elegantly carved, and appear to be more Grecian than Budhist: the style of the plaited hair and of the drapery especially. They are found of all sizes, both singly and in groups.

43. To the south of the Cabool River, the only ruins of this nature are in the neighbourhood of Peshawur, between that place and Jumrood, and at a point where the Tarturra Road from Lalpoora enters the plain near Spirsung.

44. The last-named dynasty was overthrown by Pushpamitra, who was instigated by Brahmin priests to persecute the Budhists, massacring the Monks. At this time, however, B. C. 165, the Greeks re-appeared on the Indus under Menander, king of Bactria, whose successor Eucratidas, B. C. 148, annexed to his kingdom the valleys of Cabool and Peshawur, with a part of the Punjab and Sindh. Half a century later (B. C. 80), Khorasan, Afghanistan, Sindh, and the Punjab were united under a king of the Sakas, or Sacœ Scythians.

45. Other tribes of this nation followed, but Indian princes of Lahore and Delhi re-conquered their Trans-Indus possessions of Cabool, Peshawur, &c., which they retained till about the end of the 7th century of our era.

46. Fou Hian visited the countries of Swat, Hazara, Peshawur, and the Punjab in A. D. 600, when Budhism was still the dominant religion.

47. At this time the Persian and Indian empires, both falling to decay under a succession of weak princes, and disturbed by internal strife, seemed to court invasion; nor was the opportunity neglected; already the Arabian hosts were on the Euphrates, and after a series of decisive battles, Persia was annexed to that empire in A. D. 650, and the banners of Islam approached the Caspian and the Oxus. But the conquerors made no impression at that time upon the independent and hardy race of Afghans, who then occupied the mountains of Ghor and Soliman, and who not only retained their own freedom, but committed aggressions on their Indian neighbours in the Khyber Range, and across the Indus. For many years they were thus brought into contact with the Rajah of Lahore, and, their expeditions becoming latterly more frequent and extensive, they wrested possessions from that Chief, and, according to Ferishtah, fought 70 battles in five months. At length they were joined by the Gukkurs, an old and independent people (now the peaceable and industrious inhabitants of the southern mountains of Hazara), who occupied the country between the Indus and the Jhelum from the mountains in the north to the Salt Range in the south, originally the seat of the Khasahs or Cashmeerees. With their aid, the Afghans forced the Rajah, at the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century, to cede to them all the Kohistan west of the Indus, and south of the Cabool River, on the condition of their guarding that frontier of Hindoostan against invasion. There seems reason to suppose that the Indian tribes, thus dispossessed by the Afghans from what are now the Khyber and Khuttuk Hills, were Bhattis of the race of Yadoo, whose retirement across the Indus, B. C. 1100, has been alluded to, and who re-appeared at Tanot about this time (731), whence they finally removed to Jessulmir in 1156.

48. But the plain of Peshawur and the hills to the north, with Swat, Bonair, &c., were still occupied by tribes connected with India, and were left unmolested. We read of them as the tribe of "Sehat" going to the assistance of Khoman of Chittore in the beginning of the 9th century, on which occasion Peshawur is noticed with Lahore and Kangra as forming a princedom under Anunga, Chief of Delhi.

49. Of the Afghans, whom we thus find, for the first time, acquiring a settlement in the southern hills of Peshawur, nothing is known before we meet them in the hills of Ghor and Soliman at the time of the Arab invasion of Khorasan. They trace their descent themselves to the Israelites, through Afghana, son of Yaremiah, son of Saul, king of Israel, and state that they wandered to those mountains after the captivity, and at the summons of some of their brethren, who had settled in Arabia, embraced the Mahomedan faith; large numbers of them joining in the wars of the Prophet under the first proselyte of their branch, named Kees, who received the titles of Abdoolrasheed and Pathan from Mahomed; and returning to his native mountains, converted the remainder of his nation. The narrative of these events exhibits much that is inconsistent, and much that we know from other and

authentic sources to be erroneous and impossible, devised probably to give to their nation an honorable rank in the annals of Mahomedanism, and to account for peculiarities in their present circumstances and character. The Prophet is thus said to have foretold to those early supporters of his creed that their nation would always be scattered and turbulent, impatient of monarchical institutions, and devoid of that regularity and decorum in religious observances to ensure which such institutions, or prophetical guidance, are necessary; and he, therefore, consigned the whole body of them to hell; and yet in another place he is made to invest Kees and his descendants with the title of Pathan, or "Mast," to signify their importance to the vessel of the faith: that designation being nothing in fact but an Indian corruption of their own national name of "Pakhtoon." Afghana, of whom we have no other mention sacred or profane, may have been similarly adopted as an ancestor to accord with the name by which they were known to their western neighbours the Persians. Their ancient genealogies are not much at variance with those of Scripture, and those of a later date are voluminous and accurate: their love of genealogies, and the importance they attach to them, is a marked trait of the Pathans, and the now numerous and scattered tribes of the nation can trace their descent to a certain point in a connected series, which, with so many means of detecting error, can scarcely have been fabricated. This common ancestor is "Kees," whose sons gave their names to the four great divisions of the nation from which have sprung all the tribes composing it at the present day. It seems probable, therefore, that he was one of the Patriarchs or Chiefs of the tribe which first settled in Ghor, which country of their former location is popularly known as "Ghwarai, Moorgai;" for it is inconsistent to suppose that an individual, from whom all Pathans of these times claim descent, was contemporary with Mahomed: the story of his Arabian travels and wars must have been a comparatively modern device for giving the Pathan nation a prominent place among the followers of the Prophet, and rather than acknowledge ignorance of ancestral details prior to Kees, beyond their traditional origin, the narrator of some few centuries back has connected him with Saul, to whom his attention would be directed from the circumstance of his being emphatically known through the Koran as Mullik Taloot, which epithet of royalty has from time immemorial been applied by Pathans to themselves.

50. But, although these errors and inconsistencies oblige us to reject the fabulous details of Pathan narrative, yet they do not invalidate the main tradition of their Israelitish origin, a tradition which pervades the nation, and which is supported by many peculiarities in their customs and institutions, which will be noticed in this report, and the reasonableness of which, I think, a personal acquaintance with the people must tend to strengthen and confirm, opposed as it is to nothing which we know of the past history of that people, or are led to believe of their future: on what grounds, therefore, can we refuse to receive an

account given by a nation of its own ancestry, which is reasonable in itself, which we cannot disprove, and for which we can offer no more authentic substitute, no theory equally plausible. The suggestion that they are a horde from Toorkistan necessitates the conclusion that they are the single one of those hordes of whose migrations we have no trace, and that although they settled so near their original seats, neither they themselves nor the people amongst whom they have dwelt have retained any trace or memorial of such extraction, and that, notwithstanding their descent from the same stock as many of their neighbours, they have still remained a separate and distinct people in feature, language, and institutions.

51. The question, however, is not capable of demonstrative proof, and must remain a matter of opinion. Being myself strongly impressed with the idea that they are to some extent of Israelitish origin, it is only fair to add that two very able philologists, Dr. Trumpp and the Reverend J. Löwenthal, to whose opinions much greater weight is likely to be attached than to mine, have enquired into the subject, and arrived at a contrary conclusion chiefly from the circumstance of their language being radically distinct from the Hebrew. Herodotus, indeed, mentions a tribe of Indians called "Pactues," distinguished by their bravery, and employed in searching for gold, and calls their country Paktyica. This name is exactly that of the Pathan "Pakhtoon"—and from consulting the several passages in which he alludes to them, I gather that their seat must have been about Kandahar and Cabool. The Greek name for the Country also corresponds with that by which the Afghans speak of themselves collectively, viz. Pakhtunk. But admitting that Herodotus alluded to the ancestors of the Pathans, it does not follow that his description of them, as "Indians," is literally correct.

52. It is a singular fact observed by Mr. Elphinstone that the Pathans have no name for their country: Afghanistan is Persian, and Roh is used only by Indian writers: they have given names to particular districts, to mountain ranges, and other localities, but no general designation to the country they occupy as a nation. There is some doubt as to the period of their conversion to their present faith: as before stated, their own history would place it during the life of the Prophet, but other writers make it much later. In the middle of the 8th century some progress had probably been made, for we find them cordially receiving in their mountains the Arabs who were then expelled from Sindh; but Ghor was but partially converted in the 9th century, and we can only state with certainty that the whole nation was Mahomedan in the time of Alptagin, or the middle of the 10th century.

53. But to continue their history as far as it relates to Peshawur and the neighbourhood. They remained independent in Ghor, and the Soliman and Khyber Mountains, long after Khorasan and Transoxiana had burst from the Arab yoke, and through the succeeding dynasties of Tahir, the Sofarides, and the Samanis. When Alptagin, Governor of Khorasan, under the last-named princes, forcibly resisted expulsion from

office in 970, he partially owed his success to the Pathans who sided with him, and began to display those martial qualities which afterwards obtained for them the first rank in the armies of Central Asia.

54. But now the fate, which had involved the Persian empire, was about to be visited from other quarters upon that of India; and from the time of Sebaktagin, Peshawur became the scene of fierce contests; the plain of the district and the hilly country to the north was still Indian, whilst the Pathans about the Khyber were on friendly terms with the princes of Lahore. In 978 the Rajah of that place, Jaipal, son of Hispal, of the Brahmin race, advanced from Peshawur with a large force to assail Sebaktagin, who opposed and routed him at Looghman, pursuing his army to the Indus, and inflicting great loss. The conqueror took possession of the country up to the river, and left Aboo Alee, with 10,000 horse, as Governor of Peshawur. The Pathans at this time made an alliance with him, and furnished soldiers to his army. Sebaktagin dying in 997 was succeeded as Governor of Khorasan by his son Mahmood, who, throwing off all dependence on the Samani princes, assumed the title of Sooltan in 999.

55. In the reign of this celebrated invader of India, the plains of Peshawur were again the scene of some great battles, the first of which was fought on the Mehra between Naoshera and the Indus in the year 1001. Mahmood was opposed by Jaipal, who had been constantly endeavouring to recover the country wrested from him by Sebaktagin, still aided by some of the Pathans, whose allegiance to the Mahomedan Governor of Peshawur was not of long continuance. The battle took place on 27th November, and the Hindoos were again routed, Jaipal himself being taken prisoner, who, upon his subsequent release, resigned the crown to his son Anandpal. On this occasion Mahmood punished the Pathans who had sided with the enemy, and as they were now converted entirely to the Mahomedan faith, we find them ever afterwards true to their new allegiance, and joining the Sooltan in all his wars against the infidels. In 1004 he again visited Peshawur, and was opposed by Anandpal near the Indus, who was routed, and fled to Cashmere: the conqueror left as Governor of the country a converted Hindoo, Sewukpal, who was called Yab Sais, but he afterwards revolted and relapsed into idolatry.

56. The Indian princes viewed with alarm the threatening attitude of the Ghuzni ruler, whose ranks were filled with the hardy soldiers of a warlike race, of athletic form, and with hearts glowing under the influence of the fanaticism inspired by a new and attractive creed. A vast army was assembled containing the flower of a falling but still undaunted race, enriched with the offerings of patriotism, for the females had denuded themselves of their ornaments to send forth the devoted band upon which were centred the last hopes of Hindooism: advancing towards the Indus, they were joined by the Gukkurs, the bravest and strongest of the tribes then seated in the Punjab, and who still retained their ancient faith.

57. Mahmood had made equally extensive preparations, and the two armies sighted each other on the plains of Chuch. The invader had not expected to meet so large a host as that which he found prepared to oppose him; and, throwing his army into an entrenched position, he awaited attack. But Anandpal preferred a wiser course, and for forty days they remained watching each other. At length Mahmood put forward a column of archers in the hopes of drawing the enemy to an engagement: the Gukkurs closed upon and put them to confusion, and, pursuing them closely, overbore all opposition, cleared the entrenchments, and slaughtered a vast number of Mahomedans; the action became general, and Mahmood's army was giving way under the fierce assault, when the Rajah's elephant becoming frightened turned and fled: the Indians, supposing their leader to be retiring from the field, lost heart—and becoming confused, fell back in disorder: the Mahomedans rallying bore down upon them and gained a complete victory, slaying, it is said, 20,000 of the infidels in the pursuit.

58. This celebrated battle, fought in 1008, is recorded by all the historians of India, and it has given rise to a discussion relative to the existence of gunpowder at that period, as the most celebrated of those writers have made use of words which may be interpreted as guns or matchlocks, but learned enquirers have come to the conclusion that the fright of the Rajah's elephant (in the account of which the word is employed) was caused not by guns, but by balls of Naphtha, which is found in that neighbourhood, and which is mentioned more particularly in the account of other battles fought at that period. Even in the wars of the Afghans, four centuries later until the time of Baber, we have no mention of gunpowder, arrows and swords being the only weapons spoken of.

59. Although the Pathan tribes of the hills at this period continued to maintain a separate independence, those seated in the plains of Ghor appear to have been more united under a Chiefship of the Soor tribe, which was even then spoken of as an ancient dynasty, and which subsequently gave a dynasty to India. In 1010 their Chief was one Mahomed, who, becoming troublesome to the Sooltan, was attacked and defeated, but preferred poison to falling into the hands of the enemy.

60. In his invasions of 1017 and 1023 Mahmood made Peshawur the place of assembly for his armies, of which the Pathans then formed the main portion, and whose Chiefs he invariably treated with honor, encouraging the tribe to settle in the Khyber Hills to serve as a barrier between his country and that of a powerful enemy. The Afreedees were the tribe to whom the Indians had made the cession of these hills before alluded to at the close of the 7th century, and at the period at which we have now arrived they were being occupied by the ancestors of the Bungushes, Orukzais, Khyberries, and Shinwaries now possessing them.

61. During the following century Peshawur continued a province of Ghuzni under the numerous successors of Mahmood, and, under the

latter princes of that line, acquired greater importance, becoming as it were the centre of their dominions, which then extended to Lahore, to which place the royal residence had been transferred.

62. At this period a tribe of the Pathans called Dilazak had settled in the plain of Peshawur, but their advent was marked by no outrages or slaughter. The villages they found were few, the country poorly cultivated, and the people a quiet race, chiefly pastoral, and still unconverted. The Pathans did not expel them, but reduced them to a kind of servitude, contracting marriages with some of the chief families, and in a short time the original inhabitants had become so incorporated with the more numerous and superior settlers as to be lost sight of: they embraced the Mahomedan religion with readiness. The Dilazaks by these marriages and new customs, which they adopted from their neighbours, separated themselves from the rest of their nation, by whom they were scarcely reckoned as Pathans, and in speaking of them at the present day, the Afghans ignore and style them kafirs.

63. But in the 11th century they had possession of all the plain of Peshawur, and extended even to Chuch, Hazara and the Jhelum : they continued quiet and orderly, the effect probably of their position in the plain rendering them accessible for punishment, and they paid a small tribute to the Local Governors appointed from Ghuzni.

64. The hills to the north formed part of the Swat kingdom, which, since the withdrawal of the Hindoos from the Indus, had remained independent under a Chief of their own with the title of Sooltan.

65. Meanwhile the Pathans of Ghor, who had remained dependent on Ghuzni, re-asserted their rights, and after various fortunes succeeded in casting off the yoke, and in the person of their Chief, Shahabudin, destroyed the Ghuznivite power, reduced the eastern part of Khorasan, and founded an empire in India from 1176 to 1186. Shahabudin did all in his power to induce the Afghans to settle in the mountains about Peshawur, and many extensive immigrations took place in his time.

66. The Punjab, however, was wrested from his Lieutenant, Kootubudin, by the Gukkurs, from whom Shahabudin re-took it in 1204, on which occasion he managed to convert them. The act cost him his life, for, on his return towards Ghuzni, he was assassinated in his tent upon the Indus by a party of Gukkurs, who had lost relatives in the late war.

67. Civil commotions followed; the king of Kharizm took possession of Ghuzni in 1215, and India was for some time ruled by the Provincial Governors, who declared their independence. Thus, for the first time, the Indus became the boundary between the eastern and western empires, and India ceased to have connection with the Trans-Indus territories.

68. All this time the Pathan tribes retained their independence in the mountains, and bore no part in the conquests or losses of the brethren in Ghor: indeed we find their hills the constant asylum of princes ex-

pelled by the Ghorians in their struggles for power. Peshawur, too, remained in possession of the Dilazaks, subordinate to the successive princes of Ghuzni, Ghor, and Kharizm.

69. The latter, however, soon fell before a new power which appeared upon the scene, and in 1246 the Moguls were in possession of all the country west of the Indus. At this time, too, another movement was taking place, the results of which were more important to the Peshawur District than the invasions of Ghuzni and Mogul conquerors.

70. Two Pathan brothers, Khukhai and Ghoree, had in the earliest times given their names to two of the great divisions of the nation settled near Kandahar: the lands of their inheritance were jointly possessed by them, which caused disputes to arise as their numbers increased, and the Khukhais, being the weaker of the two, were forced to content themselves with an unequal share upon a separate division being made of the lands. They were subsequently expelled from even this portion, and finally determined to remove altogether from their ancient seat: they were accompanied by the Osman Khail and Mahomedzai tribes belonging to other divisions, and settled near Cabool about the middle of the 13th century, where they remained for some time quiet and unmolested.

71. Taimoor's invasion of India, in December 1398, did not disturb Peshawur or the tribes about it, as he marched from Cabool to Bunnoo where he crossed the Indus. But the Khukhai Pathans, increasing in numbers and wealth, had now acquired importance in their new possessions, and were divided into three principal clans called Eusufzais, Gigianees, and Turkilanees. They were even then notorious for their turbulence and internal feuds, as well as for their oppressive treatment of their neighbours, whose flocks and herds they were constantly carrying off. But they were useful to Ulug Beg, (a descendant of Taimoor, and uncle of Baber,) who was enabled through their assistance (A. D. 1470) to maintain himself in the sovereignty of Cabool, and until firmly seated, he was obliged to leave them unrestrained. When no longer requiring their services, he attempted in vain to coerce them. A strong feud had risen between the Gigianees and Eusufzais, and Ulug Beg siding with the former, sustained a defeat from the latter. Upon this he adopted a different policy, and feigned to treat the tribe with great consideration, inducing them to come to his durbar from the hills which they chiefly occupied, on which occasions their Chiefs were treated with marked distinction. At length an occasion offered itself, when seventy of the Pathan Mulliks were unarmed, and at his mercy, and basely availing himself of the opportunity, he slew them all but one, named Mullik Ahmed, who was spared on the condition that the tribe should leave Cabool. They did so, and at first settled in Bussoul and about Jelalabad. They endeavoured to take possession of Bajom, but were repulsed, and the Eusufzai, Gigianees, and Mahomedzai tribes entered the Peshawur plain by the Tarturra route at Spirsung, when they begged from the Dilazaks for a portion of land on which to settle. This was granted, and the new comers settled down in Doaba. But they did

not long remain on these terms, and although native historians lay the blame of the quarrel upon the cattle-lifting propensities of the Dilazaks, the contrary is the most likely supposition.

72. The Eusufzais were the first to break faith, but they were soon joined by the Gigianees, Mahomedzais, and Osman Khails; a great battle was fought on the north side of the Swat River, in which the Dilazaks were routed with great slaughter, and fled precipitately to Hazara. The Gigianees received the Doaba as their portion; to the Mahomedzai was assigned Hushtnuggur; and to the Eusufzai the remainder of the country north of the Cabool River. The Osman Khails were placed in the hills about the Swat River, and these tribes still retain the allotments then assigned to them. Mullik Ahmed, before mentioned, figures in all these wars as a Chief of distinguished valor. The Dilazaks were excellent archers, the Eusufzai notorious swordsmen, and, observing the havoc caused by the flights of arrows at a distance before the Eusufzai could close, he sewed several hides together, under the shelter of which large bodies advanced uninjured, and speedily put the enemy to flight after great slaughter.

73. But the Eusufzais were bent on further conquest, and prepared to take possession of Swat, moving for that purpose to Shakot. The Swatees were all assembled at the Mora Pass, and the Pathans, advancing to the foot of the hills, made as if they would attack at once. But at night they made a rapid turn to the Mullakund Pass, leaving their women in the camp, whose music and singing during the night concealed from the enemy their plans; the rising sun discovered the glittering swords of the invaders, who had crowned the Pass, and suddenly fell upon the astonished Swatees, who offered but a weak resistance; thus the Eusufzais took possession of Lower Swat, the inhabitants of which partly remained as cultivators of the Pathans, but most fled to the Pukhli Valley, north of Hazara. Upper Swat was not at this time taken, but remained independent under its Sooltan. The Turkolanees at this time separated from the Eusufzais and took a portion of Bajour.

74. Bussowl, Jelalabad, and Looghman, thus evacuated by the Kukhai Pathans, came into the possession of the Ghorai tribes, which comprised the Khuleels, Momunds, and Daodzais: they likewise began to occupy the hills between Lalpoora and the Peshawur Valley, now the seat of the Upper Momunds.

75. The plain of Peshawur, south of the Cabool River, still continued in possession of the Dilazaks.

76. The Turkolanees partly remained in Looghman, and partly effected a settlement in Bajour, which country, like that of Swat, had a Chief with the title of Sooltan.

77. In 1502 Abdool Rizak succeeded his father, Ulug Beg, in the sovereignty of Cabool and Ghuzni, but was expelled two years later by Mokim Arghûn. He found an asylum with the Turkolanees of

Looghman, by whose assistance he made several fruitless attempts to recover his government.

78. During the greater part of the 15th century, the Pathans north of the Cabool River remained unmolested in their new possessions, to which they had added Bonair and Chumlah. They did not offer even a nominal allegiance to any foreign power, distributing their lands, and governing themselves by certain acknowledged laws and customs, and, as their numbers increased, forming themselves into smaller communities under Local Chiefs, with separate and distinct interests, but bound together by a strong tie of nationality, and jealously guarding against the acquisition of ascendancy by any tribe or individual amongst them; a strong trait in their character as we shall have future occasion to remark. The western powers were too weak to attempt interference, whilst the Afghan dynasty, which governed India during the greater part of this century, was absorbed in wars at home.

79. And now appears upon the scene that illustrious scion of the Chaghatta family of Mogul Tartars, who was destined to bring the empires of India under the sovereign sway of the house of Taimoor. Succeeding his father in the small kingdom of Ferghana (now Kokan) at the early age of eleven, Baber passed the ten following years in a series of exploits and adventures which read more like the stirring tales of romance than the sober truths of history. We see him at one time leading hosts to victory, and seated in the palaces of Indjân and Samarkand; at another he is a houseless exile partaking the rude hospitality of Tartar shepherds, or hunted over the snow-clad mountains of that wild region. Driven at length from his ancestral home, at the still early age of 21, he descends from the Passes of Hindoo Koosh, and acquires the sovereignty of Cabool and Ghuzni from the usurper, Mokim, above mentioned: this was in October 1504.

80. At this period, as has been before detailed, the plains and hills of Looghman, Kooner, Peshawur, Swat, and Bajour were inhabited by newly-settled Afghan tribes, though towards the north some of the aborigines remained more or less independent under their hereditary Native Chieftains. Former Sooltans of Cabool and Ghuzni had claimed them as subjects, but beyond the occasional compulsory payment of tribute, the subjection, both of these tribes and of the Afghans of the wilds and the mountains, has been little more than nominal. The clans occupying the hills infested the plains and high roads: those especially bordering on the difficult passes leading to India looked upon them as a part of their revenue, either plundering or levying contributions on caravans and travellers as at the present day.

81. In the following year, 1505, Baber meditated an incursion into India, and proceeded by Jelalabad (then called Adinapoor) and the Khyber Pass to Peshawur. Here his original plan was abandoned for a marauding expedition to the southward, in the course of which he had several engagements with the Afghans of Bungush (Kohat) and Bunnoo, returning by the Sukhee Sarwar Pass and Boree to Ghuzni.

82. For several years after this Baber was occupied in quelling rebellions in his provinces, and in the vain endeavour to recover his possessions in Transoxiana from the Uzbeks. He undertook, however, several expeditions against the Afghans in their hills—employing strong light forces—with which he endeavoured to surprise them. When successful, the foray resulted in the dispersion or slaughter of the men, and the carrying off of women, cattle, and property. When, however, the clans were on their guard, they offered a brave resistance, and, after considerable loss to both parties, he withdrew his forces, claiming at best a doubtful victory. Still these forays had the effect of restraining the tribes nearest to him from plundering in his territories. Scarcely a year passed without his making inroads into the country of some of the tribes either to chastise their licentiousness, or to protect his more peaceable subjects. But in 1519, fifteen years after his conquest of Caboöl, he entered on a more extensive campaign against them, when the Dilazak Chiefs, burning to avenge themselves on the Eusufzai, attended him as allies and guides. They first marched against the fort of Bajour, where the Sooltan refused to submit. On this occasion we read of his employing matchlocks against the enemy, which were quite new to them : the experience of their effects threw the garrison into such consternation that the fort was easily carried by escalade, when the men, 3,000 in number, with their Sooltan, were put to the sword, and a pillar erected of their heads; the women and children were enslaved. The Turkolanee Afghans, already partially seated in Bajour, extended their settlements, and gradually possessed themselves of the country : on this occasion a tribute in grain was imposed upon them.

83. Sooltan Wais, of Swat, escaped a similar fate by tendering his submission, which was accepted.

84. The Eusufzais in Lower Swat, Bonair, &c., likewise sent an embassy to Baber, who, deeming it prudent to avoid a harassing and bootless campaign in the hills, was apparently conciliated, and took in marriage the daughter of Shah Munsoor, one of their Mulliks, or head men. The final agreement included the imposition of a tribute in grain, and a promise on the part of the Eusufzais to refrain from inroads on Upper Swat. Descending from the hills, Baber plundered the Eusufzais and Mahomedzais of the plains north of the Cabool River, and, erecting a fort at Peshawur, left a garrison there. This more complete subjugation of the tribes facilitated his subsequent operations towards Hindoostan.

85. Crossing the Indus above Attock in this year (1519), with a small force of 2,000 men, he occupied Bhira on the Jhelum, passing through the broken and raviney country of the Gukkurs on his return to Cabool whose submission he received.

86. Baber's subsequent invasions of India did not affect the tribes about Peshawur, but they took the opportunity of his continued absence to withhold their tribute, and to revert to their plundering habits. The Dilazaks, too, finding the fort at Peshawur inconvenient to them, destroyed it shortly before Baber's death, which occurred at Agra in 1530.

87. Ten years later Humayun, compelled to fly towards Sindh, left the territories of India and the Punjab in the hands of the Afghans under Shir Shah. The latter Chief, whose real name was Fureed, was the grandson of Ibrahim, an Afghan of the tribe of Soor, who came to Peshawur with some of the earlier settlers, and passed on to Hindoostan in quest of military service. The house of Taimoor would not probably have succeeded in again wresting the empire from Shir Shah's successors but for the jealousy with which the Afghans regarded the advancement of any individual of their nation, and the strong notions they cherished of independence and equality: feelings which debarred all unity of action, unless restrained by the personal character of the aspirant. These feelings pervade the nation, and are manifested as forcibly in the appointment of a village officer as in the instalment of a king.

88. In 1551 Humayun, re-established at Cabool, meditated a return to India, but dared not cross the Indus whilst his restless brother, Kamran, was at large. The latter prince had sought an asylum with the Khuleel and Momund Afghans, into whose hills he was followed by Humayun, who gained a partial victory, and afterwards wintered at Pushoot on the Koonur River, in which mountain fastness his troops were much harassed by the Afghans, who prowled about his camp, plundering and putting to death all who fell into their hands. Kamran wandered from tribe to tribe, staying a week with each, but at last, in 1552, he was surprised by Humayun, whose troops committed great slaughter amongst the Afghans. Kamran himself escaped, but was finally given up to his brother by the Gukkurs under their Chief Sooltan Adam.

89. Towards the end of the year, Humayun proceeded to chastise the Afghans for the assistance they had given to Kamran, and his columns penetrating into Bungush and Teerah, pillaged and laid waste the country, driving off the sheep and cattle of the tribes, and seizing their effects.

90. In 1553 Humayun, having caused his brother to be blinded and sent to Mekka, prepared to invade India, and, as a preliminary measure, re-built the fort at Peshawur which the Dilazaks had destroyed. A strong garrison was placed in it under the command of Sekunder Khan Uzbek: and the fort was provisioned with the grain of the neighbouring Dilazaks. The latter soon afterwards attacked it, but were repelled by the Uzbek Commander. In the following year Humayun re-crossed the Indus on his road to Delhi.

91. After his departure the Ghorai Khail Afghans, consisting of the Khuleel, Momund, and Daodzai tribes, entered the plain of Peshawur, and, ousting the Dilazaks, took possession of the districts in which they are now located, and to which they gave their names. The Dilazaks were driven across the Indus: they are to be met with now in but one or two villages west of that river, but are more numerous on the eastern side, though, comparatively speaking, the tribe is extinct.

92. The Khuleels, Momunds, and Daodzais being now seated in the plain and exposed to attack, became the frequent victims of the local governors: a treatment which finally effected a change in their character and habits, contrasting strongly with the bold independence of their hill brethren.

93. We have thus traced the settlement at Peshawur and its bordering districts of all the Afghan tribes now located there; no subsequent immigrations took place.

94. About this time, the middle of the 16th century, a sect arose amongst the Pathans styled Roshuneeas, which for a long period was the cause of dissension amongst the tribes: it was founded by one Baqazid, who assumed the character of a Prophet, and collected numerous disciples, chiefly in the Soliman and Khyber Mountains. He styled himself Peer Roshun, but by all native historians he is called by the name given to him by his great opposer Akhoond Durweza, viz., Peer Tareek. He laid aside the Koran, and taught that nothing existed but God, who required no set forms of worship, but an implicit obedience to his Prophet. This easy creed met with many supporters amongst the wild mountaineers, who found a further incentive for joining the sect in the license afforded to them: for a species of social communism existed amongst them, and they were authorised to seize the land and property of all who would not accept their creed. At length he ventured to oppose the government of Cabool, but was captured and imprisoned. A large sum of money procured his release, and he made Hushtnuggur his seat, where he received many converts before his death, which took place at Gulladheyr shortly afterwards.

95. He left five sons, who strove to keep up the sect, which at that time embraced half the nation; but the most active and important branch consisted of the Afreedees of Teerah, and some of the Eusufzai. Shekh Oomur, the eldest son, removed the bones of his father, and carried them about with him in a chest. His success was not great, and a strong opposition being raised by Akhoond Durweza, the Eusufzai tribes were reclaimed, and the supporters of the new sect met with a defeat at Mainee, where the eldest son of Baqazid, Shekh Oomur, with two of his brothers, were slain, and their bodies thrown into the Indus, the bones of their father being burnt.

96. The two younger sons, Jelalooddeen and Kumalooddeen, went to Teerah, which became the chief seat of the sect. Their license and plunder attracted the notice of Akbar, who had passed through the province when he established himself at Cabool. Returning to India, after building the fort of Attock, his attention was withdrawn to the valley of Cashmere, of which he first made the conquest, repairing in 1586 towards Cabool. Jelalooddeen was then successfully resisting the authority of his provincial governors, but Akbar commenced his attack on the Eusufzai, who had already separated themselves from the Roshuneeas; and although his ostensible purpose was to restore the pure faith, it is

probable that he had already formed the intention of bringing into subjection the whole of the tribes which had hitherto successfully resisted all attempts to impose upon them a foreign yoke.

97. He sent an army against them under Zain Khan, his foster brother, and Rajah Bir Bal. The open country was soon subdued, and the allied commanders attempted to follow up their enemy into the hills, but becoming involved among defiles, retired to the Emperor's camp near Attock. A larger force was equipped, and sent again under the same commanders: they advanced by Pulli, and Bir Bal attempted to ascend the passes into Swat, but was vigorously attacked and obliged to retire: in the pursuit he was himself slain, and his force cut up. Zain Khan's division was still in the plain, but being attacked in the night, was likewise defeated, and he fled on foot to Attock.

98. Akbar fitted out a third expedition against them, and placed its conduct under the celebrated Todur Mull, and Rajah Maun Singh, the Governor of Cabool. Taught by experience the impolicy of hazarding a desultory contest in the hills, these leaders adopted a more prudent course, and, taking up positions in different parts of the country, fortified themselves, and prevented the Pathans from cultivating in the plain. This measure proved so harassing to the tribes that they tendered a nominal submission, which enabled Akbar to make some kind of agreement with them in the winter of 1587, and to turn his attention towards the Roshuneeas of Teerah and its neighbouring hills. Maun Singh was sent against them from the west, and Akbar led an army for the same purpose by Kohat, coming in their rear, Jelalooddeen was defeated in a battle which took place, and the sect was dispersed for the time.

99. Having thus asserted his supremacy, Akbar never attempted the more complete subjugation of a people upon whom so little impression could be made even by costly expeditions which exhausted the resources of the empire. He confined himself to keeping open the road to Cabool, and maintaining a partial control over the hill men by keeping a firm hold of the plain, and thus commanding their cultivation.

100. But his Governors were mostly oppressive and tyrannical: one of them, Syud Hamud, demanded in marriage the daughter of Mullik Rubee of the Daodzai tribe. He refused to give her, and upon being pressed to do so feigned at last to comply, and, at a great feast held on the occasion, the Governor and his suite were murdered, and Mullik Rubee fled to the hills. As soon as his power was removed, the tribe revolted, and Akbar was at length compelled to recall him under a promise of pardon, a course afterwards frequently adopted by the Sikhs towards Chiefs who fled to the hills. The Mullik on return attempted to bring other tribes under his sway, which gave rise to so many feuds that the whole country was thrown into confusion, and it was on this occasion that Akbar endeavoured to make the Eusufzai change seats with the Khuleels, Momunds, and Daodzai, but the attempt was not successful. The local

records of this period are full of the burnings, expulsions, and massacres by the Moguls amongst the tribes occupying the plain, whom they compelled to pay tribute. The internal feuds and jealousies of the Pathans themselves prevented any combined attempt for their own liberation; but partial revolts took place, and struggles continued till the end of the century.

101. In 1592 the General Jaffir Ghaznavi attacked and defeated the Roshuneeas on the Kotul leading to Kohat, but the sect continued formidable, and Jelalooddeen obtained temporary possession of Ghuzní in the year 1600. He was driven out of it and killed in an attempt to recover it. The two rocks upon the Indus opposite Attock are called Jelalia and Kamalia, after this Jelalooddeen and his brother Kamalooddeen, in consequence of the great loss of life caused by the dangerous whirlpools at their base, and in allusion to the extensive shipwreck of souls imputed to those two upholders of the Roshuneea sect: the epithet was first given by Akhoond Durweza, their father's great opponent, and one of the most celebrated saints of the country. He wrote a history and several theological works, and died at Peshawur, where his tomb is still a place of general resort and superstitious sanctity.

102. In 1611, during the reign of Jehangir, the Roshuneeas appeared in force for the last time, when they caused a revolt in Cabool, but were defeated with great slaughter, and from that time the sect gradually wore out: at the present time its tenets are professed only by the immediate descendants of the founder in Teerah and Kohat, and by some of the Bungushes and Orukazis. The ancestors of those of the latter tribe, who are popularly known as Shias, were probably of this sect.

103. The Eusufzai, upon first taking possession of their present seats, were accompanied by three Shekhs of great repute, believed to have possessed the power of predicting events destined to affect their nation. The most celebrated of these was Shekh Mullee to whom they entrusted the work of dividing the land amongst them: the relative proportion assigned by him to each clan is the recognized standard of the present day: he did not specify the lands, but referring to the numbers and circumstances of each family to be provided for, he fixed the relative number of bukhras, or shares, to be assigned to the clans, and their several minor divisions, which have been adhered to in all their subsequent removals and emigrations, and it is a common thing at the present day to find Eusufzai proprietors eagerly referring to this ancient scale of rights.

104. The tribe was at first known only by the general name of Eusufzai, in the same way as the latter were in Kandahar and Cabool undistinguished from the main branch of Khukhai, but when their numbers increased, and their possessions were enlarged, they divided into two divisions, the Eusufzai and the Mundunzai, the latter being the descendants of Momdun, who was the nephew of Eusuf. The two

divisions remained for some time together, but quarrels ensued, which were enhanced by the confusion caused by the oustings and intrigues of the Moguls, till at last the Eusufzai, in Swat and Bonair, expelled all the families of the Mundunzai which were in those countries. The latter tribe, leaving their women in Chumla, descended to the plain, and similarly expelled the Eusufzai families settled there, who removed to Swat and Bonair, except the Baezai whom the Munduns were unable to drive out from the Loondkhwur Valley. Swat, Bonair, and the Loondkhwur and Ranezai Valleys thus remained to the Eusufzai; and Chumla, Panjtar, and the plain country up to the Cabool River, to the Mundun branch, which is the division at the present day as regards the tribe itself, though the Khuttuks have since possessed themselves of the greater part of the Loondkhwur Valley, and of a good strip on the plain between the Indus and Cabool Rivers, which transaction will be presently narrated. But the Eusufzai had before this acquired the reputation of conquering the country, and as may frequently be observed amongst Pathan Communities, the name of the inferior division was lost in that of the superior, and the Mundun branch and their country is still popularly known as Eusufzai, except amongst themselves.

105. The state of the district remained as above described during the reigns of Jehangir and Shah Jehan; but the Pathans rendered an unwilling allegiance at the best, and took advantage of a weak Governor or a foreign war to raise commotion. At length, in 1668, they openly revolted, and rushing down in large numbers, devastated Chuch, and cut off the communication between Delhi and Cabool. They were led on this occasion by one Mahomed, said by Indian historians to have been invested with the ensigns of royalty, and to have claimed for himself a descent from Alexander the Great, and a daughter of the King of Transoxiana. There is no local belief, however, in this statement, nor do we hear again of the supposed king. They were defeated near Attock, but repulsed the royal troops at Peshawur sent against them by Amin Khan, the Governor of Cabool, and remained for a time sole masters of the plain; the Eusufzai especially, acquiring great fame for valor and prowess.

106. Aurungzeb was then on the throne of Delhi, and when Amin Khan, after sustaining a defeat, was taken prisoner with his wives and family, the Emperor withdrew from the Mahratta wars in which he was engaged, and marched at the head of an army to re-establish his ascendancy. He advanced only to Hussun Abdal, whence he despatched his son, Sooltan, to act against the rebels. From 1673 to 1675 the war continued under the general direction of the Emperor, and for several years after his return, under that of his Generals: but his arms met with little success, and he was at last compelled to agree to terms which left the Pathans almost independent, and to withdraw his forces to India.

107. This period is distinguished in Pathan annals by the verses and deeds of the renowned Khooshal Khan, the Khuttuk Chief, at once

a warrior, poet, and patriot: himself the most polished member of the most polished tribe of his nation. He has left a history, and some poems of considerable merit, which he indited during the wars with the Moguls to excite the patriotism of his countrymen; reciting the brave deeds of their fathers, and taunting them with lukewarmness and want of manly spirit. Nor was he less active as a soldier than as a patriotic bard; for he led his Khuttuks well on many occasions, and obtained a great victory on the low hills opposite Akora, where he had been deserted by the Eusufzai, whose base flight he has recorded in a poem full of spirit. On one occasion he fell into the hands of the enemy, and was for three years imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior, after which he was exchanged for some Mogul prisoners of rank, and returned to the head of his tribe, which he led on to fresh victories in the defiles of the Khyber and Kurruppa Passes, the hills of the Momunds, in the Doaba, at Naoshera and Akora, and was thus notably instrumental in the successful issue of a war by which this brave people freed themselves from the oppressive rule of the Mogul Emperors of Delhi.

108. The successors of Aurungzeb retained nominal possession of Peshawur, but the monarchy was declining, and they had neither the power nor inclination to make any further attempts to control its rude tribes. Nasir Khan was appointed Governor in 1718: he adopted a conciliatory policy towards the Pathans, with whom he became popular. He long foresaw the storm which was about to burst upon the falling empire, and had for some years warned the Court of Nadir Shah's approach: his call for assistance and timely notices were, however, neglected by Mahomed Shah, and when the threatened invasion came, and Nadir Shah appeared at Peshawur, he surrendered the place, and that conqueror, crossing the Indus in 1738, defeated the king; and, following up his victory, extorted from Mahomed Shah a treaty by which all the Trans-Indus countries were ceded to him. The road through the Khyber had been closed against Nadir Shah by the Afreedies and Shinwarees, but an Orukzai Mullik led his army by Teerah to Peshawur. He intended to punish those tribes on his return, but was soon wearied of a contest which brought him no renown. He built a fort at Bazar near the mouth of the Khyber, and hoped to starve out the hill men in their barren rocks; but they continued to annoy his garrison, and he finally withdrew after making a kind of agreement with them. He is said to have come to this determination after an interview with Durriya Khan, the Mullikdeen Khail Chief, who brought with him some of the bitter wild roots upon which his tribe subsisted, chiefly the "muzurrai," or dwarf palm, and the "pumannai," the king imagining that to attempt the blockade of a people who could live on such productions would be futile. Peshawur was thus again transferred from the eastern to the western empire, and Nasir Khan's services were rewarded by his new master with the joint government of Cabool and Peshawur.

109. During the nine years which intervened between this period and the assassination of Nadir Shah, the affairs of Khorasan occupied

too much of his attention to allow of much interference with the new province, the people of which had of late years considerably increased in wealth and numbers. The Eusufzai, Khuttuks, and hill tribes remained independent, and paid no tribute; but those in the plain, viz., the Khuleels, Momunds, Daodzais, Gigianees, and Mahomedzais submitted to the Local Governors, and were forced to pay tribute through their Chiefs. Some of the latter were in the habit of going occasionally to the Court and bringing back with them grants of land, and sunnuds exempting them from tribute, which still exist; but it does not appear that they were invariably acted upon, for in those days a goodly array of followers, or a reputation for Pukhtoonwallee, or Pathan virtue, possessed greater force than a royal patent.

110. The death of Nadir, in 1747, was followed by the establishment, at Kandahar, of the Dooranee dynasty in the person of Ahmed Shah. This Pathan division had long been settled at Herat, sometimes becoming tributary to Persia, but more frequently maintaining their independence under the democratic government of their elders in council. But Ahmed Shah managed, by a prudent course of policy towards his countrymen, almost imperceptibly to get all real power into his own hands, and circumstances favored his project of assuming the functions and prerogatives of royalty, notwithstanding the repugnance which was felt by the people towards that form of government; till by flattering his own tribe, punishing the Ghiljees, conciliating others, and gaining reputation by foreign wars, he consolidated his power, and brought the Pathans to look upon him as their native king.

111. Nasir Khan refused to acknowledge his sovereignty, and Ahmed Shah drove him from Cabool to Peshawur, but the tribes at that place turning against him, he was forced to cross the Indus, rapidly followed by the king, who advanced to Lahore, reduced the Punjab, and conquered Cashmere. During the remainder of his reign the plains of Peshawur were brought under more complete control than before, and some expeditions sent into the Eusufzai Valleys occasionally despoiled their frontier villages, whilst the revenue of those tuppahs, in the vicinity of the town, was increased, and fixed upon the villages, although it was still mostly paid through the Chiefs of clans. Moreover, in the 26 years of Ahmed Shah's vigorous and active reign, many nobles and families of wealth or religious importance settled in the country, building residences of greater pretensions than those previously existing in the city, and adorning them with gardens and reservoirs.

112. Taimoor Shah succeeded his father in 1773, but proved himself a voluptuous and indolent prince. He resided a great deal in Peshawur, where he kept up his Court with much pomp and ceremony, attracting to it a large concourse of nobles and adventurers from the surrounding countries. The Kazee Khail began to acquire power in his time, and always retained in their hands the chief, legal and municipal offices: proud, bigoted, and overbearing, they presumed upon the weakness

of the king, and became notorious for their corrupt and avaricious character. The present representatives of this class are Kazee Sadoola Jan, formerly a Tehsildar, but removed for corruption, and Kazee Gholam Kadir, a wealthy speculator. In the district there was much confusion, the Chiefs, warring with each other, were engaged in constant feuds; and agriculture was neglected for the more stirring excitement of raids and rapine. In 1779 an insurrection took place under the Chumkunnee Mian Oomur, a man of great sanctity, which had for its object the dethronement of Taimoor. The Chiefs of the Momund, Khuleel, and Daodzai tribes were called Arbabs: they possessed great power and influence, and were employed to collect the revenues of their tuppahs, and to summon their levies when required by the government. The Chumkunnee Mian was joined by Fyzoolah, one of the khuleel Arbabs, who had obtained the king's permission to collect troops for an attack upon the Punjab. When his band was assembled, composed chiefly of the Khyber tribes, he suddenly rushed upon the citadel of Peshawur, and overpowering the guard, entered the place. Taimoor Shah acted on the occasion with firmness and energy, and collecting his guards opposed the rebels and forced them to retire. The plot was traced to the Mian, but the Pathan tribes would not allow him to be punished out of the superstitious reverence they habitually paid to members of his class: he fled to a hill separating Eusufzai from Bonair, where he stayed for a few days, and was then allowed to return. The hill where he rested is called his "seree," or "gift land," to the present day, and has been vested with a kind of sanctity from the circumstance. It is called "Amankot" from having been the "place of refuge" of some Dowlutzai Pathans of Bonair, who fled there after committing a murder, and whose descendants still occupy the small hamlet on the spot.

113. The king was unpopular amongst Pathans, and many revolted from his authority. In 1789 Arsula Khan, the Momund Chief, rebelled, and stopped the roads between Peshawur and Cabool. He afterwards gave himself up to Abbas, the son of Taimoor, and then Governor of Peshawur. The king disgraced himself by putting this Chief to death, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his son and the Afghan nobles.

114. His death, in 1793, left the throne to be contested by his sons, whose adventurous enterprizes and varied fortunes form a romantic page in oriental history—the effects resulting from which are yet operating, and several of the actors still playing their parts in life.

115. Shah Zeman first succeeded through the influence of Sarafraz Khan Barukzai, father of the present Ameer Dost Mahomed, but his thoughts were bent on foreign invasion, and having estranged the Barukzais by the murder of Sarafraz, found himself opposed by that tribe and its allies, and in 1797, advanced from Peshawur to meet his brother Mahmood. He left Cabool with an army of 30,000 men, but on nearing Kandahar, his vanguard deserted him almost in the presence of the enemy, and mistrusting the remainder, he fled to the Chinwarries, by a

Mullik of which tribe he was given up to Mahmood, by whose orders he was deprived of his sight.

116. He had left his brother, Shah Shooja, at Peshawur, who now proclaimed himself king, and actively sought to procure the alliance of the eastern tribes. It would be apart from the object of this sketch to follow the varied successes of the brothers. Shah Shooja, at first defeated, found an asylum with the Afreedies of Choora, near the mouth of the Khyber, till he might re-gather his forces for another attempt on Peshawur, in which he was again defeated, in a battle fought in the neighbourhood of Tahkal, near the ruins of a tope on the road to Jumrood. Long an exile in the wild mountains between Peshawur and Kandahar, his persevering energy at length caused him to triumph, and in 1809 we find him receiving at Peshawur, with courtesy and honor, a British Mission, conducted by one whose courtly grace and liberality are still the theme of admiration, in a country of which he has given a description in pages of graphic interest, and whose name is still mentioned with an honor and respect which the lapse of half a century has not diminished. The venerable Moolá Nujeeb still lives (he died at the close of 1858), and never tires of recounting the adventurous expedition undertaken by him at Mr. Elphinstone's request to explore the unknown regions of Kafiristan, and up to this day we have received no further information of the curious people then visited in such a bold and enterprizing spirit. (This was written before Major Lumsden's Mission to Kandahar, where, I believe, he elicited much interesting matter on this subject.)

117. But further vicissitudes awaited the unfortunate king, and in the beginning of 1810, he was forced to fly before the better fortune of Mahmood, or rather of his talented, brave, but unscrupulous Minister, Futteh Khan. He attempted to regain his throne in March of that year, fording the Indus eight miles above Attock, and taking Peshawur without opposition; from which place he was expelled in September by Azeem Khan, who again drove him across the Indus. In December 1811 he made a last attempt, but was defeated at Akora and ceased for a time to renew the struggle: after many wanderings, and escaping from the prisons of Cashmere and Lahore, he found, in 1815, a resting place, under British protection, at Loodianah.

118. Futteh Khan was now the virtual possessor of all power under the nominal sovereignty of Mahmood, and placed his many brothers over the several provinces of the kingdom, of which Peshawur was now one of the most important, owing to the ardent desire of encroachment displayed by the ruler of the Punjab. In 1812 Futteh Khan, making a truce with Runjeet Singh, agreed to pay eight lakhs of rupees, if he would send a force with him to expel Atta Mahomed from Cashmere;—10,000 men were given under Mohkum Chund, and the rebel Governor was reduced. The fortress of Attock was then held by Jehandad Khan, brother of this Atta Mahomed, who, partly from avarice, and partly from revenge, surrendered that important place to the Sikhs. Futteh Khan remonstrated, refused to

pay the balance due of the stipulated sum, and attacked the Sikh Army near Hazroo. Celebrated more for the good fortune than for the military genius which characterized his battles, Futteh Khan was entirely defeated, and fled across the Indus, accompanied by his young brother, Dost Mahomed, who had displayed conspicuous gallantry on the occasion.

119. But Futteh Khan was called from Peshawur with the troops to Herat in 1818, which afforded Runjeet Singh the opportunity of establishing himself more strongly on the Indus; on the 31st May of that year he carried Mooltan by assault, and in July 1819 took possession of Cashmere from Jubbar Khan, another of the Barukzai brothers, who had been left as Governor, and followed up his success by making a rapid march to Attock, fording the Indus, and driving the troops, assembled to oppose him on the western bank, to Peshawur. This, his first visit, was not marked by the devastation which characterized subsequent Sikh advents, and receiving the submission of the place, he retired to Lahore.

120. Meanwhile Futteh Khan, upon his arrival at Herat, obtained an amount of power which gave rise to a jealous fear in the minds of Mahmood and his son Kamran, at whose hands the brave Chief met with a cruel end, borne with manly fortitude. The operation of blinding him was performed with more then usual barbarity, and he was afterwards hacked to pieces for refusing to ward off the punishment about to fall upon the ungrateful princes at the hands of his indignant brothers.

121. The Barukzai family now threw off all shew of allegiance, and usurped the Government, the ex-king and his son retaining only Herat. Mahomed Azeem Khan exercised authority at Cabool; Sherdil, Poordil, and Rahimdil at Kandahar; Dost Mahomed Khan at Ghuzni; Yar Mahomed, Sooltan Mahomed, Saiud Mohamed, and Pir Mahomed at Peshawur; Nawab Jubbar Khan in the Ghiljie country; Nawab Zemen Khan at Jelalabad; and Summud Khan at Kohat and Hungoo.

122. During all these disturbances Peshawur remained in a constant state of excitement and confusion, passing from one ruler to another, none of whom could exercise much real control over its wild occupants. The hill tribes transferred their aid to the highest bidder: they had been for the most part staunch supporters of Shah Shooja, who was compelled in return to pay largely for their services, in addition to the sum of $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs annually paid to the tribes of the Khyber, in the time of his predecessors, for keeping open the road. Indeed all the revenues of Peshawur, under the Dooranees, were absorbed in the payment of such allowances to the hill tribes, and the Chiefs of the plain, who were called on for occasional services with the militia. A statement of the average revenues derived from the Peshawur District by the Dooranee Kings is given in Appendix A.

123. In 1823 Azeem Khan determined to try his strength with the Sikhs, and came from Cabool to Peshawur with a large army for that purpose. The Sikhs crossed the Indus; Runjeet Singh, with the choicest portion of his army crossing the Cabool River at Akora, marched up the

left bank, sending Khurruck Singh, with the remainder of the force by the right bank, to hold in check the troops expected from Peshawur. Azeem Khan had despatched his brother, Summud Khan, to raise the Khuttuks and Eusufzai, who readily obeyed the summons, following himself by a forced march to Naoshera; he found Summud Khan already engaged with the enemy, on the plain to the north of the Cabool River, between that town and Pir Sabâk, but was unable to join him on account of the stream; the Pathans fought with desperate valor, but could not make head against the superior numbers and discipline of the Sikhs: they nevertheless frequently rallied upon some low hills adjacent, and bore down bravely upon the enemy, who began to waver towards evening, but regained their advantage, when Runjeet Singh, seizing a standard, himself led them to victory. The last stand was made at sunset by a party of 200 Eusufzai, who fell gallantly fighting. In this action 10,000 Pathans are said to have been slain. The Sirdars Azeem Khan and Dost Mahomed, who had not taken part in the contest, fled to Cabool, and Runjeet Singh, advancing to Peshawur, made the four brothers at that place his tributaries, sending an army annually to receive the tribute, and to keep up the terror of his name. On all these occasions the Sikhs committed great havoc, burning a great part of the city, and felling numerous gardens to supply themselves with firewood, an article only procured from the hills, and which at these visitations was not attempted to be brought in. In the battle of Naoshera fell that gallant old Sikh soldier Phoola Singh, the intrepid leader of "the immortals," who five years before had led the way into the breach at Mooltan, and was conspicuous on this occasion for his gallantry.

124. Runjeet Singh's stay at Peshawur was short, his departure being hastened by the inundation of his camp owing to the bunds of the Bara having been opened by the Afreedies, who were on the look out for plunder during the consequent confusion.

125. Azeem Khan did not long survive this humiliating defeat, and at his death Dost Mahomed obtained the chief authority at Cabool. About this time an individual made his appearance in the district whose short but adventurous career affords an illustration of the simplicity and superstition which has always rendered the Pathans an easy prey to the artifices and schemes of any one who laid claim to superior sanctity. This was Saiud Ahmud Shah of Bareilly, who, travelling by Shikarpore and Cabool, arrived amongst the Eusufzai in 1824, giving out that he was divinely commissioned to wage a war of extirpation against the infidel Sikhs and Chinese. In a short time an immense army was at his disposal, animated by a spirit of fanaticism which filled the hearts of his admirers with high hopes. The four Peshawur Sirdars felt the influence, and longing to free themselves from their Sikh oppressors, joined the crusade, the ranks of which were swelled by numerous adventurers from Hindoostan. At last the Saiud marched to Naoshera, proposing first to lay siege to Attock: but Runjeet Singh was not unprepared, and Hurree Singh with 20,000 men awaited him on the Indus, and now

sent a large force under Boodh Singh across the river, which advanced to meet the fanatics to Saidoo, where they entrenched themselves. Ahmud Shah surrounded the party, and reduced it to great distress. Boodh Singh at length determined to fight, after telling the Dooranee Sirdars that if they kept aloof, their country should not be taken from them, and reminding them also of Runjeet Singh's approach, and their certain fate if they acted with the enemy. This warning had the desired effect, for the Dooranees fled at the commencement of the battle, Yar Mahomed Khan at their head; this act of treachery decided the day, and a great slaughter of Mahomedans took place, the Pathans making no fight, but throwing themselves down before the excited Sikh soldiery. Runjeet Singh arrived soon afterwards and went to Peshawur, destroying part of the town, and the royal residence of Bala Hissar, together with many of the surrounding gardens and residences: the mosques were desecrated, and the neighbouring country despoiled. Having read them this severe lesson, and doubled the amount of tribute, Runjeet Singh left the district, taking with him the son of Yar Mahomed Khan as a hostage.

126. Ahmud Shah fled by Loondkhwur to Swat, being taken ill on the road, which gave rise to the rumour that he had been poisoned by the Doonaree Sirdars, a suspicion which does not rest on any good ground, and is disbelieved by those of his attendants with whom I have conversed on the subject. This defeat, however, did not disabuse the Pathans of his miraculous power, and he again managed, in a few months, to collect several thousand followers. At the invitation of some of the Khans, he returned to Eusufzai, taking up his residence with Futteh Khan of Panjtar, and commenced a series of exploits which eventually placed in his hands the whole power of Eusufzai and the neighbouring hills. He first quarrelled with Khadee Khan of Hoond (incited by his enemy Futteh Khan), whom he killed, taking possession of his fort and property: but the principal Chief in Eusufzai at that time was Ahmud Khan of Hotee, who shortly met with the same treatment at his hands. Saiud Ahmud had now seated himself so firmly as to take tithes from the Eusufzai, and his power was such as to enable him to oust or uphold at his pleasure: several of the most powerful and independent of the Khans derived their authority from him, amongst whom was Meer Baboo Khan of Sodhoom. His army was not very numerous, composed chiefly of Hindoostanies and fanatics, but whenever required he could summon a host of Pathans. Looking upon the Dooranees as enemies, he kept them constantly under alarm by threatening Hushtnuggur, and inciting the Khyberies to annoy them on that side, many of which tribe took service with him, being inimical to the Barukzai Sirdars, who had stopped the allowances formerly made them by the Suddozai princes.

127. At length, in 1828, Yar Mahomed Khan proceeded against him, partly in compliance with the earnest supplications of the relations of Khadee Khan and Ahmud Khan, and partly to check the growing power of the Saiud, who, since their desertion of him at Saidoo, had denounced them as infidels, Yar Mahomed being styled by him "Yaroo Singh."

128. The Dooranee camp was at Topee near Zeydah, when Saiud Ahmud advanced from Panjtar and encamped at Zeydah, sending a party at night under Moulvee Ismail to surprise his enemy. The attack was completely successful; Yar Mahomed was killed, his force put to flight, and his camp, together with six guns and many horses, fell into the hands of the Saiud. Four of these guns he placed in Panjtar, and two at Sittana. He now possessed almost regal power, which he exercised with vigor, and maintained solely by the influence he had acquired over the minds of his subjects. He opened negotiations with Painda Khan of Umb with the ostensible desire of being allowed a passage through the lands of that Chief on an approaching expedition against the Sikhs; but they resulted in Painda's flight and the occupation of Umb by Saiud Ahmud, who strengthened the fortifications of the place.

129. The Dooranees, in 1829, having received support from Cabool set out a second time to expel him, but meeting them with a large force at Hotee, he was again victorious, and the Sirdars fled to Peshawur, closing the ferries behind them. Saiud Ahmud turned to Hushtnuggur, where Saiud Mahomed resided, who also fled at his approach; thence he traversed the Doaba to Michnee, and, crossing the river there, threatened Peshawur. He was supported and accompanied by Bahram Khan, one of the Khuleel Arbabs hostile to the Barukzai, and by Fyzoolah Khan, Hazar Khaneewala, a Chief of some importance. By means of the latter, a negotiation was entered into with the Sirdars, who acknowledged the supremacy of the Saiud, and received him at Peshawur as a master. He remained only three days in the city, leaving Moulvee Muzhur Alee to receive a sum of money for which he had stipulated with the three brothers, and to act as his Naib, returning himself to Panjtar.

130. It is impossible to say how long this priestly rule and anomalous power of the Saiud might have existed, or to what extent it might have swelled, holding in restraint a wild, brave, and independent people, and overpowering, with its undisciplined hordes, the regular armies of ruling Chiefs, in a manner which served to give some color to the popular superstition that the adventurer possessed the faculty of silencing guns, and rendering bullets harmless, had he not, in the pride of his success, forgotton to be moderate, and ventured to impose upon his subjects a strict and oppressive regimé from which even their superstitious reverence revolted.

131. Attended by but few followers at Panjtar, he avoided all stately pretensions, and maintained the appearances of a life passed in devotional exercises, fastings, and prayer; but with all this affectation of pious zeal, his mind was bent on intrigue and ambitious scheming. His paid retainers were scattered over the country, collecting fines and dues, and reporting the most trifling incidents to their master.

132. Even the exactions and insolence of his soldiery might have been borne, but he now began to interfere with Pathan customs, and found too late that he was thereby exceeding his bounds. The Afghans

have retained many peculiarities contrary to Mahomedan law and usage, and the strictly orthodox have been shocked at the open sale of their daughters carried on by them. Saiud Ahmud ordained that this practise should cease, and to assist in its abolition, decreed that all Pathans should give their daughters in marriage at an early age without receiving money, and if not then betrothed they might be claimed by their nearest relatives. This domestic interference, combined with the Saiud's growing demand for wealth, determined the Eusufzai to throw off the yoke, and at a secret council a day was appointed for the slaughter of all his soldiers and agents throughout the country. The proposed massacre was spoken of in the interval under the phrase of "threshing makai," and a signal was concerted of lighting a bonfire when the work was to commence. It seems probable that the Peshawur Sirdars were associated in the plot, for on the stated Friday, whilst the fires of Eusufzai notified the carnage enacting there, they slew Moulvee Muzhur Alee, the agent left with them, and Fyzoolah Khan, Hazarkhaneewala, who had aided the Saiud on his visit to Peshawur, and by whose abandonment of them they had been compelled to make terms.

133. Several thousands were slain on this occasion, and the excited Eusufzai Chiefs, as eager now to destroy as they had been to support Ahmud Shah, flocked to Panjtar; but aided by his constant ally, Futteh Khan, he avoided their pursuit, and with a few followers fled to Tabkot, and, crossing the Indus, found a resting place in the valley of Pukli: on the road he buried the guns which he had taken from the Dooranees, and they have never been since discovered.

134. Thus ended his extraordinary ascendancy of little more than four years' duration: but Hindoostanee followers flocked to him in his new settlement; and, in 1830, Sher Singh, bringing an army from Cashmere, gave battle to the fanatics near Balakot, where they fought with all the energy of despair, and but few escaped, though the number of the Sikhs who fell on that day attests the fierceness of the struggle. Saiud Ahmud and his companion, Moulvee Ismail, with Bahram Khan, the Khuleel Arbab, were all killed on this occasion: the body of the former was buried by the order of Sher Singh, but being exhumed by some Nihungs, was thrown into the river, and on being washed to shore, was hacked in pieces—a zemindar rescuing one of the thighs, which was buried at Pallikot. There is a legend amongst his followers and disciples that he went away alive, and is yet to re-appear for the extirpation of infidels, and in the late disturbances with the Saiuds of Khaghan, some excitement was caused by an inflated hide being dressed up as one of the holy family, and placed in a cave before a Koran to personate the deceased saint.

135. The opinion at Peshawur and the neighbourhood is very prevalent that Ahmud Shah was of the Wahabi Sect, but the report has been spread subsequent to his death, and some of his known acts seem to render it improbable: several adventurers who followed in his steps

were Wahabis, and perhaps the rumour may have arisen from that circumstance.

136. Meanwhile the Sirdars continued to exercise authority at Peshawur, and having expelled the sons of Summud Khan from Kohat and Hangoo took possession of those places; the gross revenues of the territories under them at that time amounted to about 10 lakhs, and their rule is looked back upon by the people as one of great oppression. Pir Mahomed's abilities gave him the first place, though he was the youngest in years; Sooltan Mahomed chiefly gave his attention to pleasure, and was celebrated for his foppish love of dress, which acquired for him the sobriquet of the golden Sirdar.

137. The periodical visits of the Sikhs were calamitous to the people: their approach was the signal for the removal of property and valuables, and even of the window and door-frames of the houses: crowds of women and children fled frightened from their homes, and the country presented the appearance of an emigrating colony: as the hated host advanced, they overran the neighbourhood, pillaging and destroying whatever came within their reach, and laying waste the fields. The system undoubtedly kept the population in a depressed state, and tended to deter the Sirdars from rising against a yoke they felt so irksome.

138. The Eusufzai country was similarly exposed to their depredation. After witnessing their gallantry at Naoshera, Runjeet Singh had at first no wish to renew the contest, but being engaged with the lawless Pathans of Gandgurh on the east of the Indus, he had encamped his army near the river, when the Eusufzai, depending upon the stream as a barrier, commenced to insult them by slaughtering cows in their presence. Runjeet Singh, unable to restrain himself longer, ordered his troops to cross: some of his best warriors strove to induce him not to attempt it, pointing out the peril of fording such a river, but he was not to be deterred, and a body of irregulars plunging in, several hundreds were lost. M. Allard's regular regiments of cavalry followed, and maintaining good order, effected the passage with but trifling loss. The Pathans, thunderstruck at the boldness of the exploit, attempted no resistance, but fled to their villages closely pursued by the Sikhs, who for several days carried on an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children, under an excitement which no humiliating supplication, no abject submissiveness, could for a time allay.

139. Upon retiring, the Sikh ruler left Hurree Singh to command on the frontier, with a force of about 12,000 men. The annual expeditions were conducted under his guidance, and in them he displayed rare soldierly qualities: the Pathans, whilst they cannot but cordially hate the memory of their most tyrannical oppressor, still acknowledge his bravery and skill. The tribute levied from the Eusufzai was not fixed, but depended upon his will, consisting of horses, hawks, and such sums in cash as he could collect from the tuppahs, as a fee to escape a visitation. The tribute of horses was, in 1835, commuted to a tax of four rupees per

horse. There is scarce a village, from the head of Loondkhwur Valley to the Indus, which has not been burnt and plundered by this celebrated commander; visitations were held in such awe that his name was used by mothers as a term of affright to hush their unruly children; and at the present day, in travelling through the country, old grey beards, with many scars, point out the hills over which they were chased "like sheep by the Singh," and young men show where their fathers fought and fell.

140. Destruction was so certain that the few villages, which, from the extreme difficulty of their position, were either passed by the enemy, or, resisting attack, were but partially destroyed, claimed a triumph, and came to be looked upon as invincible; an arrogant boast which has led them in our time to unusual boldness and effrontery.

141. But the people of this unhappy country did not enjoy peace even during the respites which the withdrawal of the Sikhs afforded them, and it is hard to say whether they suffered most from those terrible but passing invasions, or from the bitter feuds which followed them, arising out of hostile acts committed towards each other, either to find favor from the invaders, or to gratify personal feelings of hatred and revenge; for, as is common with people in such a depressed condition, they had no scruples in betraying each other for such purposes, and as spies, or informers, in bringing the Sikh scourge upon their neighbours with a baseness from which their ancestors would have revolted.

142. But still they maintained their national institutions and customs, and the tribute, however extorted by their oppressors at the time, was eventually made to fall pretty equally upon the community according to their ancestral valuation of "bukhras," or shares, expressing not merely the extent of their landed possessions, but also their relative responsibilities towards the community. At the present day this distribution of the tribute is sometimes adduced as evidence to show that a man's ancestral share is in excess of that of others with apparently the same lineal rights; for "goondies," or parties, were formed of individuals representing a certain number of "bukhras," who were to furnish a horse or sum of money, and some persons having an odd number, or fractional parts of bukhras, became associated in more than one goondie, so as to complete them all to the same standard. Thus a man will say, "how can my duftur be equal to such an one's, for had not we both two shares in Futteh's "horse;" and yet I had a tenth in Kadir's besides?" Such disputes, now settled upon their merits, were then not unfrequently determined by the fractional division of the parties themselves, the quarrel lying dormant for a time, till their descendants thought fit to risk another division.

143. Runjeet Singh appeared content to follow this line of policy for several years, and did not seek to render his Trans-Indus position more permanent: but the Barukzai Sirdars at Peshawur brought their own ruin upon themselves by the intrigues which they set on foot with

the Sikhs for the overthrow of their brother Dost Mahomed, of whose power at Cabool they had become jealous, and who had lately taken into his own hands the province of Jelalabad from his nephew Mahomed Zeman Khan, and had given further grounds of annoyance and alarm by causing himself to be publicly crowned at Cabool.

144. It was in connection with such schemes that Hurree Singh crossed the Indus in 1834, and took up a position at Chumkunnee with a force of 9,000 men. By a treaty entered into between Runjeet Singh and Shah Shooja, Peshawur was to be ceded to the former, but as the terms of the treaty were provisional upon the success of the latter in regaining his throne, no steps were taken to carry it out at that time, and there is no reason to suppose that Hurree Singh had then any other object than the collection of the tributes. But the Sirdars were uneasy and suspicious of him, and had sent their families and property to Michni. Having realized his demands, Hurree Singh prepared to withdraw to Attock, and sent to the Sirdars to say that Naonihal Singh intended visiting the city on the following morning. Seeing him approach, with columns marching behind him, the Sirdars fled to Shekhan, a village on the Bara River, near the hills. The party covering their retreat had some skirmishing with the Sikhs, but no preparations had been made for defence, and Hurree Singh, finding himself unexpectedly master of Peshawur, and declining all terms of reconciliation, disregarded the remonstrances of the Sirdars, who shortly afterwards repaired to Jelalabad.

145. Dost Mahomed had at that time proceeded to Kandahar to oppose Shah Shooja, and the prospects of that king appeared so promising that, looking upon their brother's defeat as inevitable, they commenced preparations for taking possession of his provinces. But his usual fortune attended him, and Dost Mahomed returned to his capital victorious, and began, in concert with his brothers, to collect his forces with a view of driving the Sikhs from Peshawur.

146. He arrived in the Khyber in April 1835 when the Afreedie Mulliks and Chiefs, who had in the mean time been receiving pay from the Sikhs, joined his cause, and he encamped at Shekhan. There was much mistrust between him and Sooltan Mahomed, whom he had told that Peshawur, upon being restored to the family, would be given to Akbar Khan. The Sirdar, therefore, commenced intriguing with the Sikhs, who kept up nogotiations, as Runjeet Singh had forbidden them to fight before his arrival. In the interim, the Amir caused the hosts of Ghazees, who accompanied his force to attack the Sikhs, but they did not effect much, and Dost Mahomed shrunk from a more regular contest. Runjeet Singh, arriving shortly afterwards, disposed his force, amounting to 40,000 men, in such a manner as completely to surround the Afghan camp, leaving the Amir no option but to fight or fly. Mistrusting his relations, and having but little confidence in his troops, he determined on the latter course.

147. An offer was made to restore half of Peshawur to Sooltan Mahomed if Dost Mahomed returned to Cabool, and he appeared to

agree to these terms, but detained the envoys sent from the Sikh camp, Fakeer Azeezooddeen and Mr. Harlan, pretending to consider them as hostages for the fulfilment of the promise, and making them over to Sooltan Mahomed, whom he hoped thus to embroil with the Sikhs. His brother, however, was aware of his object, and conveyed them in safety to their camp, proceeding himself to Michni.

148. The Amir commenced his return to Cabool, which partook more of the character of a flight, his own baggage being plundered by the disappointed Ghazees; and it was not till he had passed through the Khyber that Sooltan Mahomed's deceit became known to him.

149. In 1835 and 1836 the Sikhs were unmolested in Peshawur, where Hurree Singh continued in administrative charge of the province, and strengthened his position by building a new fortress on the site of the Bala Hissar, and placing garrisons in the district. A force was also cantoned in the plain north of Attock, between the Indus and Cabool Rivers, protected by the fort of Jehangira, a place of some strength on the bank of the latter river, and four miles above its junction with the Indus. But his rule could not fail of being unpopular amongst the Pathan proprietors, and many of the Arbabs fled to the hills, where they organized predatory bands, and made the roads of the district unsafe. Sooltan Mahomed was in Bajom devising schemes with the Chief of that country, Meer Alim Khan, and the Upper Momunds, for annoying the Sikhs in the Doaba, at the same time keeping open a correspondence with Lahore, in the hopes of recovering his province by negotiation.

150. Runjeet Singh, feeling the difficulties and expense of maintaining his position at Peshawur, deemed it prudent to lessen both by becoming reconciled to Mooltan Mahomed, whom he at last sent for and restored to him in service jageer the tuppah of Hushtnuggur, and half Doaba, supposed to yield an income of two lakhs, together with Kohat and Hungoo, where he did not dare to maintain his troops, the annual revenues of which were 1,50,000 Rupees.

151. At the latter end of 1836 Hurree Singh determined to occupy the post of Jumrood, at the mouth of the Khyber, contrary to the advice of those native Chiefs who were supposed to be the most friendly disposed towards him; the position is, indeed, a false one for the purpose of checking the tribes of the vicinity: being almost within the gorge, the garrison was exposed day and night to be harassed by an active and unseen enemy, without being able to effect any thing in return; whilst parties from the hills could enter the plain to the north or south, without meeting with obstruction; and the hollows and ravines in the neighbourhood afforded good shelter for bands, always on the look out to cut up some unfortunate straggler. But Hurree Singh neglected the advice offered him through the contempt he held towards the whole Pathan nation, and his unwillingness to believe that they could for any time thwart him in his plans. The place was of considerable strength. A square of about 300 yards protected an octagonal fort, in the centre of which a natural mound strengthened with masonry, forms a kind of

citadel which commands the surrounding country. There is a fine pucka well inside the place, upwards of 200 feet deep.

152. The fortress was garrisoned, and the act seemed in the eyes of the Amir to be preliminary to a further advance, his fears being increased by the fact of his brothers, Sooltan Mahomed and Pir Mahomed, being with Runjeet Singh at Lahore. He determined, therefore, to send an army to oppose the measure, and once more to attack the Sikhs. His Minister, Mirza Sumi Khan, was sent with the expedition, the forces being placed under the command of Mahomed Akbar Khan, who was accompanied by several others of the Amir's sons and Chiefs of Cabool and its dependencies. He was influenced probably both by the misgivings he entertained as to ulterior designs, and partly in the hopes of gaining some advantages which would enable him to open negotiations for Peshawur to the exclusion of his brother.

153. The force arrived near Jumrood in April 1837, and on the 30th of that month the Afghans opened their guns upon the walls of the place. The reports of this action are various, and victory has been claimed by both parties. The facts seem to be that the artillery fire laid the walls of the place in ruins, and that the Dooranees were about to commence an assault, when Hurree Singh, who had held back until the enemy advanced, fell upon them with his wonted vigor, and without much loss broke their ranks and put them to flight, capturing 14 of their guns. The Dooranees were soon dispersed in confusion, a small party only holding their ground with firmness under Afzul Khan: the other Chiefs were separated, and scattered in groups amongst the neighbouring ravines. The Sikhs, too, soon presuming upon victory, pressed in pursuit without maintaining much order, when Shumsooddeen Khan, a nephew of the Amir's, coming up with a fresh party, and being joined by some of the fugitives who rallied upon him, charged down upon their scattered masses and drove them back; whilst in their turn Mahomed Akbar Khan, coming up with more troops, recaptured some of the guns.

154. At this critical moment the Sikhs were disheartened by the fall of their intrepid leader, who was shot in charging round upon the Dooranee right, and was borne off the field, the Sikhs withdrawing and entrenching themselves under the fort. Eleven of the 14 guns were recaptured, and three were taken from the Sikhs; each party, therefore, retained an equal number of trophies.

155. But the battle can scarcely be said to have been drawn, for the Sikhs held their ground, and as their reinforcements appeared, the Dooranees retired in disorder by night, and many of the troops were not checked till they had arrived at Cabool. Even if the victory had been more decided, it would have been dearly purchased by the Sikhs with the loss of so brave a warrior as Hurree Singh, who died the same night.

156. Hajee Khan had been despatched to operate in the Doaba with levies from Bajour, Kooner, and the Upper Momunds, but he seems to have been playing false, and in concert with the Sirdars at Lahore; he

made, indeed, a display of attacking Lena Singh in Shubkuddur, but is said to have accepted a bribe, and certainly retired hurriedly, through the Momund country, to Jelalabad.

157. Captain Burnes passed through Peshawur on a mission to Cabool at the end of this year (1837), but as his proceedings did not result in any thing to affect the district, they need not be further referred to here.

158. The Sikhs, hated and tyrannical as they were, maintained their rule throughout the province, scarcely more odious to the people than the Dooranee Sirdars whose jageers were confirmed to them: Saiud Mahomed retained Hushtnuggur, and Pir Mahomed the Doaba, whilst to Sooltan Mahomed were assigned Kohat and Hungoo. Runjeet Singh seemed much distressed at the death of his General, and would probably have withdrawn from Peshawur could he have done so with honor, and have resigned a position, which was one of continued anxiety and vexation, compelling him to keep up a strong force, and entailing a large expenditure, a trifling portion of which could alone be defrayed from the local revenues, which were nearly absorbed in grants and jageers.

159. But as its retention under the circumstances of the time was inevitable, he strengthened himself by a reconciliation with the Barukzai Sirdars, which released him from the protection of some of the most troubled portions of the district; Hushtnuggur being in their hands, he avoided coming in contact with the Mahomedzais, amongst whom were many turbulent and discontented Chiefs, whilst he was equally freed from the raids of all the petty frontier tribes connected with Swat. Similarly their presence in the Doaba saved him, in a great measure, from the restless Momunds, but as a portion of that tuppah was retained, he placed a garrison there at Shubkuddur, in the fortress of Sunkurgurh, built by Tej Singh in 1837.

160. The Khuleel and Lower Momund frontiers, exposed to the Khyberees and Afreedees, were more troublesome, but he assigned large grants to the Arbabs of those tuppahs, taking care that the villages immediately under the hills should form the greater part of their jageers: similar grants were made to the Chiefs of powerful and remote villages, from which the collection of revenue might otherwise have been attended with difficulty. Having in this manner secured himself on the frontier by foregoing the revenues, he was enabled to employ his strength in controlling the tuppahs nearer to Peshawur, and by the periodical despatch of brigades into Eusufzai, to realize the revenues of that district, and to keep the people under command, without permanently locating troops there, or exercising that direct and constant management which would have embroiled him in a prolonged struggle with those wild tribes. Kohat being assigned to Sooltan Mahomed, he wisely refrained from interference in that close and savage district, and the tribes occupying the pass connecting the two valleys..

161. Tej Singh for a short time administered in the room of Hurree Singh, until relieved by General Avitabile, who retained the

charge for about five years, from 1838 to 1842, acquiring as great a celebrity for his internal management of the district as Hurree Singh had gained for his early conquests.

162. On first taking possession of the country, the Sikhs had left the land revenues much as they had been levied by the Dooranees, but in 1837 the demand had been slightly raised by Tej Singh. The state of the district, however, prevented its full realization, and in 1838 General Avitabile reduced it again, but in the following year a large increase was made by demanding the same amount in Nanukshahee currency, as had been formerly paid in that of Peshawur; thus raising the revenue by about a fifth, or to nearly 9 lakhs of Rupees. These rates continued in force with but little alteration till 1842, when Tej Singh, succeeding Avitabile, rendered them still heavier, and the revenues of Eusufzai, being at the same time permanently fixed at a higher standard, and certain extra fees imposed at the Dusserah, was made to yield close upon 10 lakhs; and no material or general change was made subsequently till annexation.

163. In Appendix B and C will be found a detail of the Sikh revenues and the parmanent assignments made from them, from which it will be seen that, during the last years of their rule, the demand on account of land revenue was Rs. 9,96,944, subject to a deduction of Rs. 2,89,767, leaving a balance paid to Government of Rs. 7,07,177.

164. But in looking over the accounts of the period, we find large sums paid away to purchase back to their allegiance, rebellious subjects, as sops to turbulent neighbours in the hills, or as retaining fees, under the name of mowajib, to powerful Chiefs who might be troublesome; a very small balance remaining for general purposes, viz., little more than five lakhs, even if the full demand had been realized, which was never the case.

165. The Arbabs and influential Mulliks received the farms of their tuppahs and villages, but in the absence of such men, the district was leased to Hindoo capitalists, whose agents were spread over the country, employing all the means in their power of extracting wealth from the cultivators, to whom a bare subsistence was allotted. The nominal share of produce claimed by the Government was one-half, but extra fees were demanded, and advances had to be adjusted which afforded a pretext for unlimited extortion. The revenues were mostly collected by these farmers in kind, so that at every stage of agricultural progress, the homes of the villagers were subject to the visitations of a swarm of rapacious and ill-paid menials. Strife and litigation were constant, for these Hindoo farmers felt no compunction in transferring fields from hand to hand, in prospect of greater gain, and without regard to the ties which bound together Pathan communities, the breaking of which was the sure prelude of affray and bloodshed. At periods when irrigation was peculiarly required, customary divisions of the water were laid aside, for those which favored the interests of the more powerful farmers, and

scarcely a season passed in which the dams, whence a cluster of canals diverged to different properties, were not the scene of fierce conflicts, resulting in much loss of life.

166. And still the realization of the revenues was irregular and precarious, Arbabs and Mulliks constantly fled to the hills to evade the payment of revenue, and if powerful enough to conduct a system of predatory warfare on the border, were usually restored in a few years to their former position, favored and enriched.

167. Mahomed Khan, Arbab of Momund, farmed the revenues of that tuppah in 1837 and fled to the hills of the Adam Khail Afreedies, where he remained for four years. In his absence, a member of another branch of the family was appointed to the Arbabee, an agency with which the Sikhs could not dispense, but he was unable to control the tribe, and in 1840, he was recalled by General Avitabile under the guarantee of a jageer of 6,666 Rupees, subsequently increased by Tej Singh and Sher Singh to 8,550 Rupees.

168. The Khuleel Arbabs, absconding in like manner, were similarly recalled, receiving a jageer of 12,000 Rupees, exclusive of their family possessions, the revenues of which were remitted to them under the name of "zarkhareed." This species of grant had arisen in the time of the Doorances, when certain nobles purchased estates, and obtained their release in perpetuity from the government: in times of weakness and confusion, many large proprietors obtained similar exemptions for their ancestral estates, and when the Sikhs took possession of the province such claims were asserted on all sides, but they disallowed them all, with the exception of those of some of the Arbabs, and a few others who still retain them.

169. The Khuleel Arbabee was exercised by the three heads of the family, who enjoyed the Government allowances, but the "zarkhareed" lands being the family inheritance are distributed, in ancestral shares, amongst the members of the brotherhood.

170. The Momund and other Arbabs received only personal allowances, but their influence usually obtained separate grants of mowajib for their near relatives. In return for these grants they were expected to remain in attendance upon the local Governors to call out the militia, and generally to maintain the peace of their tuppahs. Avitabile on several occasions attempted to enforce cash payments direct to Government, but the measure was vehemently resisted, and signally failed. In Mashoo Khail, a large village in the Momund tuppah 8 miles from Peshawur, he carried it out after twice sending a force against it, which destroyed the crops, burned the village, and massacred many of the people.

171. The maintenance of internal order was scarcely attempted: blood feuds between districts, villages, and families were unchecked, or followed only by the levy of fines, when the Government Officers

deemed it prudent to interfere: in fact the Pathans continued to govern themselves by the same rude and sanguinary laws, which had been handed down to them by their forefathers, and which offered to their wild natures a more congenial mode of avenging wrongs, and adjusting disputes, than the courts of infidels.

172. Dacoitees and raids were constant occurrences, and but lightly thought of, until their frequent repetition would cause the tribes in the plain to retaliate under the guidance of their Mulliks and Arbabs. The Government Troops were stationed principally at Peshawur, garrisons being placed in the Shubkuddur and Bara forts. The latter is situated on the northern bank of the stream of that name, and was constructed by the Sikhs, principally to protect the dams at that point, from which the irrigation canals of both the Khuleel and Momund districts are cut, and at which those tribes annually fought for their rights. The loss of life on these occasions was very great, the feuds being further embittered by taunts and sarcasms arising out of the tradition that the common mother of the Khuleels was a slave girl.

173. Although the Sikhs were unable to adopt any systematic restraint of those deep-rooted habits and feelings, which filled the district with crime and blood, and refused to consider inroads not directed against themselves as tending to cast discredit on their rule, yet when punishment was in their power it was signal, but serving more to startle by its cruel severity than to deter by its justice and certainty. Such acts as the destruction of Mashoo Khail, and the similar treatment of other villages, kept up the fear of their arms, and the gibbets outside the city walls, which attracted the notice of our Officers on the way to Cabool, spoke their own tale: nor was this severity confined to the legitimate punishment of convicted malefactors, but resort was had to every means which presented itself for the destruction of members of the hill tribes, who were looked upon under all circumstances as a race for extermination, and were invariably sent to the gallows upon apprehension. One of the sunnuds upon which Kurumoodeen Khan of Chumkunnie held his jageer, contained a stipulation that he should produce annually twenty Afreedie heads, and the old man relates without a blush the treacherous methods he was sometimes compelled to adopt to fulfil the conditions of his tenure.

174. But as permanent masters of the valley, the Sikhs found that attacks upon their hill neighbours could not be carried on with the same successful energy, which marked the periodical invasions of their armies under Hurree Singh: such expeditions now were weaker and less enterprizing, and attended, if not with actual reverses, still with such doubtful injury to the enemy and certain loss to themselves, as to render their occurrence rare.

175. Avitabile's troops, backed by the Momund militia and other levies, were unable to make an impression on the Adam Khail Afreedies, and so far from effecting an approach to their strong villages of Borce

and Jamakhor, they failed to hold their ground on the low detached range in the plain, running from the village of Aza Khail to Shumshuttoo.

176. The attack upon Pranghar, in the Osman Khail hills, was equally abortive; and in an attempt to surprise Pindiali, they did not advance beyond Chingee, a small village immediately within the hills opposite Muttah, where they destroyed a few huts, with a loss to themselves of between 4 and 500 men.

177. They, however, considered themselves strongly seated at Peshawur, and during the troubled times, which followed upon the death of Runjeet Singh, their force was greatly reduced. In 1841 when Colonel (then Captain) Mackeson was at Peshawur, and applied for a detachment of Sikh troops, General Avitabile assured him that he had not 2,000 available men.

178. The events then enacting at Cabool do not appear to have affected the district, but the above named Officer was occupied in endeavouring to maintain friendly relations with the hill tribes, whom it was thought prudent to conciliate.

179. These negotiations were conducted with lavish expenditure on the one side, and invariable faithlessness on the other. The system was not successful, for whilst British ascendancy was predominant, the tribes were humble and quiet, but on the occasion of any reverse, when their co-operation was required, no promises or largesses could secure their good faith. Our transactions with some of these tribes will be spoken of more in detail hereafter, but the arrangements then made were temporary and ineffectual, and did not tend to inspire them with any friendly feeling.

180. Upon the return of the army from Cabool, our immediate connection with Peshawur ceased, and General Avitabile shortly afterwards was relieved. Of his character there are several opinions, but he has left a name in the province for administrative talent, tarnished by an excessive cruelty: the latter was, perhaps, in some measure forced upon him by the nature of the people whom he was called upon to control; and an Officer who saw more of him than others has said that he was naturally kind and warm-hearted, and exercised an unostentatious charity: but some of his known acts of personal revenge, independent of those performed in the discharge of his public duties, are scarcely to be reconciled with this favorable view of his character.

181. Tej Singh retained the Government for nearly four years, but nothing of local importance occurred in his time, beyond the capture of Durriya Khan, the noted freebooter, at the village of Kundoo, situated at the foot of the low hills, South of the Kohat Pass. He was sent to Lahore, and imprisoned in the fort of Govindgurh, whence he managed to effect his escape, and, regaining the hills, was favorably entertained by Sooltan Mahomed: he now enjoys a jageer from Dost

Mahomed at Hazarnow, near Lalpoora. Tej Singh is described as wanting in energy and enterprize, but as a mild and just ruler: he was succeeded by Sher Singh, and after the Sutlej campaign, by Golab Singh on the part of the Durbar, accompanied by Colonel G. Lawrence as Assistant to the Resident at Lahore.

182. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the eventful period of 1848-49, or to trace the spread to Peshawur of that rebellion which followed close upon the murders at Mooltan, or the temporary re-appearance upon the scene of the Amir of Cabool, who awaited on the Indus the fate of the Sikh army at Goojerat. His broken ranks flying from that field, announced to him the fallacy of his hopes, and he hastily retreated: the defiles of the Khyber closing upon the Dooranee host firmer than ever. The District of Peshawur then became an integral portion of British India; but before continuing the narrative of events to the present time, it will be well to consider the condition and character of the people, and of the neighbouring tribes, at the period of annexation.

183. The whole Pathan nation derives its descent in three direct lines from Kees, which are called after his three sons, "Surbunnai," "Buttunnai," and "Ghoorghooshtai;" from the first of which sprung a fourth principal division, named "Kurbanai," or "Kurrarai," the descendants of a foundling adopted by a man of the Oormur clan of Surbunnai, who gave him that name, and married him to his daughter: on account of this ancestry, his descendants acquired a separate tribual appellation from that of the "Surbunnai," to which, on the mother's side, they belonged. Abdoolah, who adopted the boy, is said to have been in company with his brother at the encampment of a caravan passing through their lands. When the kafilah pursued their journey in the morning, the two brothers found the child and an iron cauldron, the latter of which fell to Abdoolah, but having no son of his own, he persuaded his brother to exchange lots with him, and gave the boy the name of Kurlanai (literally an iron cauldron) in allusion to the article in exchange for which he had received him. But although the Pathans of the present day can trace their descent through one or other of these chief divisions, yet they have long lost all bonds of union, which formerly connected their several branches to each other. I have, however, framed a genealogical table in Appendix D showing the manner in which all the chief tribes of the present day claim their descent from Kees.

184. From this it will be seen that the Dilazaks, Orukzai, Khuttuks, and Afreedies are of the Kurrarai branch, and the Khuleels, Daodzai, Momunds, Mahomedzai, and Kukhai (from which latter have sprung all the Eusufzai and Mundun tribes of Swat, Bonair, and the Peshawur plain) are of the Surbunnai branch.

185. I have before remarked the importance attached by the Pathans to the preservation of their genealogical traditions, which are handed down from father to son with the greatest care, as the basis of

all their rights and possessions. When the earlier divisions of the nation increased, in numbers, they separated into smaller communities or clans, called after a common ancestor, and these again in course of time branched off into other divisions and sub-divisions. Thus several generations retained the name of one common ancestor of celebrity until their numbers forced them to sub-divide, and consequently, as we trace their genealogies back to remote periods, they become more those of tribes than individuals, presenting an appearance of incorrectness, which is merely caused by this custom of noting only the *tribes* or families in remote periods; and is of no practical importance, as every man is acquainted with his immediate ancestry, up to the point of that distribution under which they claim possession, leaving to the elders of the tribe the preservation of their more remote lineage. Thus a man of the Suddozai branch, Vide Appendix D. after individually enumerating his progenitors for several generations, might conclude with "the son of Suddo, the son of Abdal," omitting all mention of the ten intermediate generations. In some of the genealogies preserved in the Scriptures there is the same enumeration of tribes in place of individuals, as in Gen. X. verses 13,14, where the names are all in the plural number, and where the large tribe of Philistines are parenthetically mentioned as "coming out of" the Casluhim. Tribes and divisions are usually called after an ancestor of celebrity, but where there are many sons by several wives, the different families and their descendants are called after the names of the mothers. They are also frequently named from some distinguishing characteristic of the founder, as the "Badee Khail," or "proud clan," &c. As an example of this system of division and nomenclature, I have prepared in Appendix E a genealogical tree of some of the living members of the Amanzai clan in Eusufzai, required at the settlement of that tuppah, marking in red ink those who have given their names to divisions of the tribes; and I may remark that every living proprietor in Amanzai has furnished a similar record of the descent under which he holds his land. The number of Hebrew names may, I think, be received together with other circumstances, as consonant with the tradition of their Israelitish origin, notwithstanding the fact of their being adopted (though far less generally) by other nations of a different stock. The Pathans have a remarkable fondness for naming their children after circumstances attending their birth, or from personal peculiarities. The derivation of the name of "Kurlanai" has been mentioned; similarly the "Ghiljies" derive their name from the circumstance of the daughter of "Buttunnai" having been clandestinely married to a prince of Persian extraction, and whose son was consequently named Ghulzo, or "son of the thief". Thus, too, we have "the son of Sorrow," "the son of Shame," "black," "white," "long locks," &c.

186. The settlement of the tribes, now located in Peshawur and the neighbouring countries, has been already detailed, and I can proceed at once to a brief description of each, commencing from the south-eastern corner of the district.

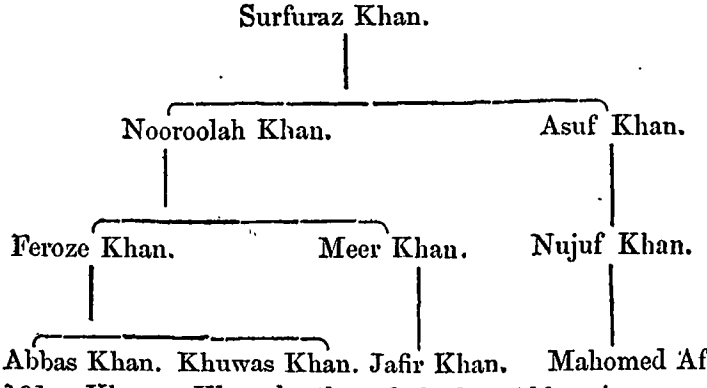
187. The Khuttuks occupy the eastern extremity of the mountain range, extending from the Soofaid Koh to the Indus, already mentioned as forming the southern boundary of the district. These hills come down close to the river at Attock and fill up the angle formed by it with its tributary the Cabool river for some miles, when they gradually recede in a south-westerly direction. The high road from Attock to Peshawur originally led through these low hills by a pass called the Greedur Gullee, but one has now been formed, by blasting, which follows the course of the river.

188. The Khuttuks hold all these hills for a distance of some 25 miles west, together with the strip of plain between them and the Cabool river to Naoshera, and a small tract of country to the north of that stream. To the south they possess the hilly country bordering on the Indus to near Mukhud, extending westward to Teeree. Thus to the north-east they adjoin, and, indeed, form part of Peshawur, but as they stretch to the south-west, the Bungushes of Kohat, and the Adam Khail Afreedies, interpose between them and that district. The tribe was originally under one Chief, who, in the time of Akbar, undertook to protect the road to Peshawur, receiving in return a grant of the plain from Khairabad to Naoshera: at that time the communication with Peshawur was in danger of being cut off by the depredations committed in the Geedur Gullee: the Chief had also sufficient power to collect from his tribe a small revenue, deriving further emoluments from the Jutta Salt Mine. His successors appear to have held their Chiefship under the confirmation of the Delhi Emperors, and usually met a violent death at the hands of their relatives. The celebrated Khooshal Khan was their most noted Chieftain, whose wars with Aurungzeb in the latter part of the 17th century, and temporary imprisonment in the fort of Gwalior, have been noticed above.

189. The last Chief who held sway over the entire tribe, was Saadut Khan, who received from Timoor Shah the title of Surfuraz Khan, by which he is more commonly known in recognition of services rendered by his brother, Khooshal Khan, to the King's father, Ahmed Shah, when the former engaged the Mahrattas near Hussun Abdal, and lost his life in the action. At his death his son succeeded to the Khanship of the eastern Khuttuks, and resided at Akora on the Cabool river; his authority extended to near Khooshalgurh on the Indus, below which the western Khuttuks remained under the authority of the sons of Shahbaz Khan, a younger brother of Surfuraz Khan, who resided at Teeree.

190. When Runjeet Singh made his first passing visit to Peshawur, he received assistance from Abbas Khan, the great grandson of Surfuraz, who was then the Chief of the Akora Khuttuks, which led to a friendship that aroused the jealousy of the Barukzai Sirdars, who invited him to Peshawur through Alim Khan Orukzai, where he was imprisoned, and afterwards poisoned by order of Yar Mahomed Khan. There have been so many murders in this family, and the Khanship has

been so often transferred, that it will be as well to enter here a genealogical tree of its present representatives :—



191. Khuwas Khan, brother of the late Abbas, was murdered by Afzul Khan, whose father, Nujuf Khan, succeeded to the Chiefship of Akora. He continued in power for a long time, owing to his connexion with the three Barukzai Sirdars, who married three of his nieces ; but they received from him an annual tribute of 12,000 Rupees. When the Sikhs took actual possession of Peshawur, Nujuf Khan fled to the hills, and they assumed the direct management of all the plain country of the eastern Khuttuks, and built a fort at Jehangira. Subsequently Jafir Khan, cousin of the two murdered brothers, Abbas and Khuwas, forming an alliance with Arsula Khan, the Chief of Zeda in Eusufzai, went against Nujuf Khan and expelled him from Nulab. This Jafir Khan had been a Jemadar of horse under Captain Wade, but now became a rival for the Khanship with Nujuf Khan. The Sikhs had left all the hill villages as a jageer attached to the Chiefship, stipulating that the Attock road should be kept open, and free from plunder. Its value was estimated at 10,000 Rupees, including certain ferry dues and customs, and General Avitabile continued to transfer it at pleasure, until it was finally divided between Jafir Khan and Nujuf Khan. Their jageer was confirmed to them by the Durbar, and when the second Sikh war broke out, Jafir Khan is said to have joined Chutter Singh with 1,000 men, and Nujuf Khan to have gone to Pir Mahomed Khan at Peshawur. The latter was murdered soon after, in the fort of Jehangira, by the sons of Khuwas Khan in revenge for their father's death, and they immediately fled to Swat. Mahomed Ufzul Khan was confirmed in his father's position by Dost Mahomed Khan then at Peshawur, and, together with Jafir Khan, was found in possession at the annexation of the country. Jafir Khan is said to have been the first man to enter the fort of Attock for plunder after the retirement of Major Herbert, but neither he nor Mahomed Afzul Khan attempted to oppose or molest the British force on their way to Peshawur. Jafir Khan is a man of much cunning and intrigue, but not wholly devoid of qualifications for Chieftainship, whilst Afzul Khan is both cruel and cowardly, and lowly esteemed throughout the country.

192. The western Khuttuks have been attached to Kohat both under the Sikh rule and since annexation. The changes and struggles for power amongst the Chiefs of this branch exceeded those of the Akora Khans. The Barukzais levied tribute from them varying from 5 to 16,000 Rupees, exclusive of the salt duties at the mines of Jutta and Malgeen. When the Sikhs first took the Trans-Indus provinces, they demanded a revenue of Rupees 22,000. Russool Khan appears throughout this period as the Chief, though frequently ousted for a time by his rivals, and when Sooltan Mahomed Khan received Kohat from the Sikhs, he finally contracted with that Sirdar for Rupees 40,000 per annum. Sooltan Mahomed gave his daughter in marriage to Russool Khan's son, Futteh Jung. At annexation Khwajah Mahomed Khan, the adopted son of Russool Khan's widow, had succeeded, and has since continued at the head of the tribe, and to farm the district, ever proving himself loyal and true.

193. The Khuttuks as a people are a most favorable specimen of Pathans, and deserved better leaders than have lately been in power over them: they retain all the good qualities for which they were renowned under Khooshal the Great, are brave and independent, and the only Afghan tribe which can lay claim to faithfulness. Active and industrious they are largely engaged in trade, and the evil name they at one time acquired was caused by the Afreedies of Boree and Janakhor, who plundered in the Rawul Pindee and Peshawur districts, and found an asylum for themselves, and a place of concealment for stolen property and imprisoned Hindoos, in the Khuttuk jungles, under the sanction of Afzul Khan, against whom the Khuttuks were powerless, as long as he exercised unlimited control over them. When it was at last considered advisable to remove these Chiefs, as will be noticed in its proper place, good order was immediately restored.

194. There are three classes amongst the Khuttuks apart from the general body of the people: 1st, the Khan Khail, which includes all the relatives of the Chiefs; 2nd, the Fakeer Khail; and 3rd, the Kaka Khail. The Fakeer Khail are the descendants of the elder brother of the renowned Khooshal Khan, who retired from the world at the instigation of Rabumkah, the great Khuttuk saint, since which time they have acquired a character for sanctity, and to them is entrusted the keeping of valuable property in times of public danger, or internal feuds.

195. The Kaka Khail are the descendants of the above saint, whose shrine is 7 miles from Naoshera, much resorted to as a place of pilgrimage, and believed by popular superstition to be the scene of many miraculous cures. Very large numbers of people assemble annually from all neighbouring countries in April, at a fair held at the shrine, which is picturesquely situated amongst the low hills skirting the plain, covered at this point with dense brushwood. This class has acquired a veneration beyond the district, and is respected amongst the wildest tribes of Afghanistan: one instance only has occurred of a Kaka Khail being killed even by the Khyberries, who were compelled to pay a large

fine on the occasion. Zaid Gool of this tribe lives at the foot of the hills to the south of the Kohat Pass near Fort Mackeson, and is the Pir of the Adam Khail Afreedies: another member of the family is Rahm Gool of Abozai on the Swat river, whose influence in the Othman Khail hills is equally great.

196. The remainder of the Khuttuks are exceedingly poor; their country, with the exception of a small strip on the bank of the river, being rugged, full of ravines, and unfit for cultivation. But they possess a large valley some 15 miles, by 7 in extent, running between their first and second ranges of hills, aud shut in to the west by those of the Afreedies. This is called the Khwurrah, and is covered with a dense forest of brushwood, from which they gain a poor livelihood by taking it to the Peshawur market.

197. Their hills afford good pasturage for cattle and goats, of which they have large herds. All their bullocks are trained to carry loads, and the Khuttuks form the principal carriers of salt to the countries north of Peshawur and all Afghanistan.

198. To this circumstance of foreign travel, which cannot but tend to civilize, combined with a desire to retain the respect entertained for large divisions of their tribe, they are, perhaps, indebted for the good qualities which so remarkably distinguish them from all other Afghans.

199. An immigration from the Khuttuks to the Loondkhwur valley in Eusufzai took place some generations back. That valley was then occupied by several clans of the Baezai tribe of Eusufzai, the remainder of whom were in Swat. Apprehensive of the encroachments of the Mundun clan, they called the Khuttuks to their assistance, who finally succeeded in establishing themselves on the lands of the Muttorzai, which have remained in their possession to the present day. They were accompanied on this occasion by a party from the Afreedie tribe of Othman Khail, whose descendants occupy the villages of Sungas, Peepul, &c., at the north of the Loondkhwur valley, where they were as notorious for their plundering propensities as their brethren of the Khyber, until they were brought by the operations of the settlement into direct communication with our officers. Three villages only are now held by the Baezai clan. Most of the above details regarding the Khuttuks have been drawn from the reports of Major Lumsden and Lieutenant Pollock, submitted to the late Board of Administration in 1851.

200. From the termination of the Khuttuk country to the west we come to the Afreedies, a name which is commonly assigned to all the tribes between the Khuttuk hills and the Cabool river: their descent is shewn in Appendix D., but they have long lost all bonds of union arising from their common origin, and must be considered as separate communities, drawn into partial connexion, as circumstances, and their own changing interests dictate.

201. They may certainly be classed as the wildest and most uncontrollable tribes of eastern Afghanistan, a character which applies to all

the descendants of "Kurlanee," or "Kurrarai," with the solitary exception of the Khuttuks.

202. Located in a wild and rugged mass of mountains, not capable of cultivation, and commanding all the passes leading from the east, they have been driven, from their earliest settlement, to seek a subsistence by plunder, and the exaction of fees upon the transit of merchandize through their territory, extorted by violence, and rudely distributed amongst the tribe. Capable of enduring fatigue, and of subsisting upon the wild roots and berries of their mountains; active, wary, and athletic, and true to each other in all that concerns a common enemy, they have successfully resisted all attempts to coerce them made at various times by men whose genious and enterprize seemed incapable of check.

203. Acknowledging a head in the person of their hereditary Chiefs, they cling more closely than other portions of the Pathan nation, to the democratic institutions they have received from their forefathers, and which in other tribes have been more or less subdued by their intercourse with, and forced dependance upon, some governing power. Their rude state of society is still kept together by as rude and simple a code, understood and acknowledged by each individual, and enforced by the community at large, every member of which considers its infringement as an act committed against his own privileges. The Chiefs or Mulliks, are indeed the representatives of the tribe, division, or family to which they respectively belong, but they possess no independent power of action, and before they can be privileged to speak in "jeerga," or council, they must have collected the wishes, on the subject under consideration, of the bodies they represent.

204. The men of a "kundee," or section of a village, having come to a decision, send their representatives to a council of the whole village, and these again to that of the "Khail," or division, whose appointed Chiefs finally assemble as the representative council of the "Ooloos," or tribe. These representatives are indifferently styled the "Mishranoo," or "Elders," and "Speenzyreeoo," or "Grey-beards." It may readily be imagined that these meetings, in all their stages, are frequently stormy, and productive of evil passions, according as the interests of individuals, or larger bodies, are affected by the propositions brought forward. Persuasion and argument are employed to produce unanimity: if this is not obtained, and the opposite factions are not greatly disproportionate, no further steps can be taken in the matter; if one side is much weaker than the other, the strongest party will sometimes attack the recusants and enforce compliance.

205. But experience of these councils alone can enable us fully to appreciate the difficulties to be encountered in coming to a right understanding with them. Objections are started, which seem at first to be irrelevant or unimportant, but which on further examination are found to be full of meaning, and an officer cannot be too anxious to follow carefully every argument made use of: nor must he be disappointed to

find, that, when the subject has been exhausted, the " Ooloos " has to be again consulted, and the same process of debate gone through. I have found it useful to detach agents into the hills, when any matter of importance is under debate, which enables me to know more certainly the feeling of the tribe, and gives me a knowledge of the arguments employed amongst themselves in bringing forward conflicting interests, which renders the final conference with me more intelligible, and the result more likely to be permanent. It is essential, I consider, in our intercourse with these people, to understand the point of view from which they look upon any case under consideration, and making due allowances for their peculiar customs and state of society, to forego much that we might justly demand; but where a principle is involved, in what we believe and know to be contrary to good faith, justice or humanity, we should not yield one iota, in whatever light those principles may be viewed by Pathans.

206. When once a jeerga has finally determined upon the course to be pursued, implicit compliance is incumbent upon the " Ooloos " under heavy penalties, and the power then devolves upon the Mulliks of enforcing those penalties upon any recusant.

207. Dear to the Afreedies is their code of honor, or Pukhtoonwalee, the rules prescribed by which are their sole guide in all matters connected with the rude government which keeps their wild society together; a code which teaches that an unavenged injury is their deepest shame, a blade well steeped in blood, their proudest badge. It nevertheless serves to check immorality, and to prevent the unbridled exercise of their passions. Any infringement of this code is visited with heavy penalties. Most of the tribes set apart one of their families as the hereditary preservers of their local customs, styled the " Serishtah," which is distinct from the family in which the " Mullikee" or Chiefship is vested. The " Serishtah" details the customary penalties for crimes, the numbers to be furnished by each clan of the tribe when they go out to war, the division of spoil and other such general matters. The amount of fines vary in different tribes, but the following are amongst the penalties imposed by all alike.

1. A man who murders another without cause: to be stoned to death, unless he be a " turboor," or " kinsman" of the murdered man, in which case he must be slain with the sword.

2. A man who refuses to go to battle: to pay a " nagah," or fine, of 40 Rupees with confiscation of property, and burning of his house.

3. A man who acts contrary to the decision of a jeerga: to suffer banishment, and his house to be burnt.

4. Adultery, if suspected on strong grounds, is punished by the death of the woman first, and then of the adulterer: if the act is proved, two men's lives must be forfeited.

5. When the relatives of a murdered man consent before a jeerga to compromise the matter, a " nagah" may be taken of 360 Rupees as the price of blood.

208. The punishment of death by stoning is another custom which points to an Israelitish origin. In the hands of an Afreedie the stone is a formidable weapon, and is that most frequently employed in their petty village frays, which are generally attended with loss of life, or severe maiming. The stone is also employed as a pledge of faith at the ratification of treaties. If two tribes determine to close a feud, or to form an alliance; or if families or individuals similarly become reconciled, and blot out the remembrance of former wrongs, vows are exchanged over a stone placed between the parties, which is thus made a witness to the contract. These truces may be permanent, or for a certain number of years. Private oaths of all kinds are verified in a like manner.

209. In common with all Pathans, the Afreedies exercise a rough hospitality, and offer an asylum to any fugitive endeavouring to escape from an avenger, or from the pursuit of justice; and they would undergo any punishment, or suffer any injuries, rather than deliver up their guest. Amongst some other Pathans this characteristic hospitality is often employed as a means of entrapping victims for plunder, but I have heard of no instance of its abuse amongst the Afreedies.

210. Their ignorance, in regard to the precepts and ordinances of the Koran, is notorious, and all Afghan writers have deplored their laxity in religious observances, and ascribed thereto the disasters and disunion which have fallen on their nation. As might naturally be expected, this ignorance is joined with a wild superstition, which leads them not only to afford implicit credence to the miraculous powers ascribed to the saints of past generations, but induces them to yield respect and reverence to any person who raises pretensions to learning or sanctity. This ignorant credulity has had the effect, at different times, of placing the Pathans in the hands of artful and designing men, availing themselves of it for their own purposes. Thus Byazeed acquired his influence over them, and in their earlier settlements and organizations, Sheiks and Moolas appear to have absorbed authority; thus too, in later times, have the powerful tribes of the Momunds and Bajour been guided and ruled by the Saiud Kings of Kooner: thus did Saiud Ahmud raise himself to despotic power, and thus have the people of Swat submitted to the exactions of a ruler placed over them by the saintly Akhoond Abdool Ghaffar, as will be presently related.

211. Although the Afreedies cannot boast of such costly shrines as are scattered over other parts of Afghanistan, or of any of those gigantic graves, which elsewhere are held in such veneration, as the resting places of ancient saints, and which, under the name of "Chinulguz," are met with all over the plains of Peshawur and Eusufzai, yet their hills are full of sacred spots, and perched upon the tops of mountains, hid in the clefts of rocks placed on the roadside, where a spring issues from the earth, or where a clump of trees affords unwonted shade, the rude grave is to be found of some holy man deceased, adorned with white stones and pebbles, where the sick resort to be healed, and those, who are bound on any enter-

prize, to pray; and where at times may be seen the solitary lamp, kindled in gratitude by one who has slain his enemy, or gathered unusual spoil. More frequent still are the piles of rough stone which in all directions mark the spot where a murdered man has fallen, and many of which are looked upon as ziaruts, or places, of pilgrimage, whilst on every pathway leading through their hills, or the ravines and deserts which divide them from the cultivated plains, are cleared spaces, marked off by single rows of stones to serve as a place of prayer for the traveller, but which are chiefly used by the robber on his lawless route.

212. More blood is shed by the Afreedies in the pursuit of hereditary revenge, than in the open affrays of villages and tribes; for the latter, though frequent, are not very sanguinary: the parties being ensconced behind rocks, or in towers, exchanging long shots and making a vast display, but continuing sometimes for two or three days before a man is killed, when the contest frequently ends, of course there are exceptions to this when strong provocation leads to more bitter animosity, and the parties close in earnest; but it requires a great deal to draw the Afreedie from his more cautious style of warfare.

213. The private hereditary feuds are not confined to personal acts of violence, but comprise a long series of harassing and vexatious annoyances, such as poisoning of cattle, carrying off flocks and herds, cutting off water, and burning of crops. This species of vengeance is similar to that adopted by Samson, as recorded in the 15th Chapter of Judges, when he drove 300 foxes, tied tail to tail, with firebrands between them, into the standing corn of the Philistines, " in the time of wheat harvest " to avenge himself for the insult he had received through his wife.

214. The system of " Boongah " may be here mentioned as adopted by the Afreedies in common with other Pathans. It is the payment of a sum of money to redeem stolen cattle, and averages one-fifth of the value of the animals. When a tribe or an individual has made a successful raid upon their neighbours, the matter is not attempted to be concealed, but if the aggrieved party is unable forcibly to retaliate, a negotiation is opened either through holy individuals, or people of the tribe under safe conducts, and the cattle is released on payment of " Boongah." For this reason it is never difficult to trace the perpetrators of such crimes, whose names, tribe and residence are usually known to the authorities within a few days of the occurrence. It is an understood point of honor that animals thus redeemed once shall not again be carried off by that tribe.

215. The villages of those tribes, which are permanently located in the hills bordering on Peshawur are substantially built, and contain two or more towers. These are square and consist, for a height of 8 or 10 feet, of solid masses of earth and stone, upon the top of which is a room calculated to hold a dozen men, with one low door way, and loopholed on all sides. A rope is slung from the door frame, by help of which the Afreedie scrambles up the wall, placing his feet in the cre-

vices between the stones. Most of them have a parapet above the roof, also loopholed, reached by a ladder from inside, where the watch is placed in times of danger. These towers are secure against assault and musketry, and the Mulliks of villages usually occupy them when driven to extremities, or surrounded by many of their inimical relations. I have known men maintain this kind of defence for months together.

216. Besides these towers the villages are further protected by "sungurs," or stone entrenchments on the hill sides around them, every path of which is known to the men: they are placed partly to command the approaches, but chiefly to cover a line of retreat into the hills when driven before an enemy, whom they are thus enabled to hold in check, until the cattle and women have gained a place of safety in some fastness beyond.

217. The tribes, which occupy these hills only during the winter months, have no villages, but dwell in caves, dug out of the mountain sides in spots near to water and pasturage, which are by nature defensible positions; the neighbouring peaks being occupied by watchers in time of war, whilst the crags and hollows, familiar to these active mountaineers, form at every hundred yards natural barriers to a pursuing enemy.

218. Having thus described the Afreedies with referrence to such features of their character as admit of general application, I will add a few brief remarks regarding each division. The relative position of all the tribes about to be noticed, according to Pathan genealogy, will be seen from Appendix D.

219. The first of these are the "Adam Khail," who occupy the range which separates Kohat from Peshawur from the Khuttuk boundary to the Kohat Pass. They are divided into four principal clans, but to avoid the confusion which the mention of so many names in the body of this Report would entail, I will give them separately in an Appendix (F.), and follow the same course with regard to other tribes. They number about 3,600 matchlockmen, but have lost those ties of affinity which at one time bound their clans together. The Kohat Pass leads through the western extremity of their border, and is situated in the lands of the Gulla Khail, with the exception of the village of Akhor, which belongs to the Hussun Khail branch. There is a second pass to the East called the Jowakih, which, after passing through the lands of the Hussun Khail by Koree and Boree, enters those of the Jawakih clan. The remaining tribe of Ashee Khail occupy the low range and subjacent valley, immediately bordering on the tuppah of Lower Momund, between the above two passes. The Adam Khail are permanent residents in the above localities, and their villages are substantial, strengthened by towers, and situated for the most part in defensible positions. They have considerable tracts of cultivation about them, but their chief agricultural labor is expended upon the unirrigated waste lands in British territory, belonging to our villages of Chundun Gurhee,

Adezai and Azakhail. These villages were assigned by the Sikhs to Jageerdars and Arbabs, in order to avoid coming into immediate contact with the hill men whose payment of revenue was uncertain and precarious and with whom the Jageerdars were forced to maintain a good understanding. The times of sowing and of harvest are periods of strife and commotion. Every member of the tribe is on the alert: the ploughman is seen with a matchlock slung across his back and a sword by his side; whilst day and night the watchman overlooks the crop, that no enemy may lurk amongst the corn. The tribe acknowledges no dependance upon either Cabool or Peshawur, and in former days Boree and Janakhor maintained those bands of robbers which infested the Attock road. They kept up about 30 horsemen, but were forced to sell most of their horses after the attack upon Boree in 1853 to be spoken of in a subsequent Chapter, and some obtained service at Kohat. Amongst the latter one of the chief men was Hyder, a notorious freebooter under the Sikhs, whose deeds of cunning and enterprize have rendered him famous. His power of personating other men was so successful, that one of his favorite pastimes was to pass himself off as an orthodox Hindoo or Sikh, and falling into company on the road with Bunniahs and others, jog along with them on the most friendly terms, till their arrival at a convenient ravine or hollow enabled him to throw off the mask, and fall upon his prey, easing conscience and expiating the curses he had been dealing out upon the faithful by cutting the throats of his victims. The tendon achilles of his feet were cut by the Sikhs on the occasion of his falling into their hands, but he is still as active as ever on horseback, and I believe a "good detective." Our transactions with the Adam Khail are now carried on through the Kohat authorities, but the details of our relations with them, past and present, will be given hereafter. It was this tribe which rendered the Sikh position at Kohat untenable, and finally compelled them to assign that district in jageer to the Barukzai Chiefs. The Gulla Khail alone receive an allowance from our Government.

220. Next to the Adam Khail are the Aka Khail, who number about 1,500 matchlockmen. For a specification of their clans vide Appendix F. The chief division is that of the Bussee Khail, by which name the whole tribe is usually denominated by Europeans since the Buddabair outrage of 1855. The settlements of the Aka Khail are in the low range of hills extending from the Kohat Pass to the Bara river. They are a nomad tribe, and come down to these hills in the cold weather, when the approach of snow obliges them to bring their cattle for pasturage here; removing with their flocks and herds, in the summer, to the mountains north of Teerah, where they have both villages and cultivation. In their lower settlements they live in caves, and gain a subsistence by the sale of firewood at Peshawur, the sole produce of their stony mountains. Their cattle at this season grazes in the plain which skirts the Momund tuppah, but they have no cultivation. Their feuds with neighbouring tribes are constant and fierce, and when their cattle

is out on the plain, they are obliged to employ scouts, placed on distant peaks, or hid in the branches of a few trees which are to be met with here and there, and mark the position of the tanks used for watering. They are very similar in character to the Adam Khail, but from the circumstance of their annual decampment have, until lately, been brought less into contact with us. Their hills are much used by the robbers of other tribes, especially, in former days, by those of Boree and Janakhor, as a route for taking off stolen property into the Khyber, and on this account the crimes of others have often been imputed to the Aka Khail. A portion of the tribe was in a constant state of feud with the men of Akhor, in consequence of the Government allowance paid to the latter. The Aka Khail possessed some plots of land bordering on the Kohat road near the mouth of the Pass, and, by plundering on that road, they attempted to bring discredit on the Akhor people, and thus compelled them to assign a portion of the grant, 700 Rupees, to them. Any irregularity in the payment, or attempt to withhold it, led to an embroilment, and generally to the closing of the Pass. In 1853, when final arrangements were made with the Afreedies, the assignment was recognized and granted to the Aka Khail direct by Government, but consequent on their outburst of 1855 it was discontinued. This tribe likewise considers itself independent. Mutual advantage has led to the cultivation of a good understanding between our villagers of Momund and the Aka Khail: the former depend for their supply of firewood on the hill men, and their flocks and herds graze on the same plain: whilst the Aka Khail, in their temporary habitations, depend upon our villages for their food and grain. This, in times of peace, is highly advantageous, and tends to the security of our pasture lands, but when a blockade is to be enforced, it becomes inconvenient. It is easy for the Government to change from a state of peace to one of war, and again to effect a reconciliation as circumstances and policy may dictate; but if we consider the character of the people and the nature of their alliances and estrangements, we must see that it is not so easy for them to adopt a similar line of conduct.

221. To the west of the Aka Khail lies the extensive and fertile country of Teerah, bounded to the north by the mountains of Soofaid Koh, and to the south by a lofty range running parallel to the former. Both mountains and plain are occupied by the the Orukzai, a large tribe numbering 30,000 men. They have little to do with Peshawur, and have in later years lost much of the influence they once possessed over all the neighbouring tribes, by whom they are now held in but little account. A detail of their clans is given in Appendix F., from which it will be seen that several colonies from other tribes have become incorporated with them, and are now numbered with the Orukzais: these colonies contain 12,000 men, and by original extraction are Eusufzai, Ghiljies, and Momunds. The Abdooley Khail is the Khan's clan, and the Mamoozai, the hereditary "Serishtawâls," or preservers of the customs of the tribe. Some of the Orukzai clans are popularly denominated "Sheeahs"—the solitary

instance of the adoption of those tenets amongst Pathans; indeed from enquiries I have made, I am led to believe that the appellation is erroneous, and that these clans are merely the descendants of the disciples of Byazeed, whose history and doctrines have been narrated in the former Chapter. At the present day it is doubtful whether those doctrines are even understood, but they have nevertheless preserved sufficient distinctive tenets to separate them from orthodox Mahomedans. Their Chiefs held service jageers under the Sikhs, and still retain a portion of the grants in Peshawur. One of them, the late Rahmut Khan, will be frequently mentioned hereafter. To the north of Teerah, amidst the spurs and slopes of the Soofaid Koh, are the districts of Bara and Maidan, situated at the sources of the Bara River, where the Aka Khail and other migratory Afreedie tribes have their summer residences.

222. Returning to our immediate neighbours, the hills north of the Bara River form a district called Kajooree, the occupation of which is shared by the Mullik Deen Khail, the Kumber Khail, the Sipahs, and the Kummurai. These also are all migratory, descending to Kajooree only in the winter, and living like the Aka Khail in caves. They own a kind of allegiance to the Amir of Cabool, from whom they receive an annual allowance.

223. The Mullik Deen Khail is, perhaps, at present the most important of the Afreedie tribes: its lower settlements are not confined to the Kajooree lands, which are but a small portion of them, but they extend to the Khyber, in the politics of which they hold the chief place. The tribe numbers 3,500 (vide Appendix F.), and is divided into three principal clans, the "Daolut Khail," to which the Khanship belongs; the "Oomur Khan Khail," to which the "Serishtah" appertains, and the "Kurnah Khail." Their chief settlements below are Oochaghwurai and Choora, near the mouth of the Khyber Pass. Their present allowance from Cabool is Rs. 9,000: it is received by the Khan, who gives presents to the "Mishurs," or Elders, according to a fixed scale. The Orukzais at one time had possessions in the Khyber, but were expelled 80 years ago by the Mullik Deen Khail under Hussun Khan their Chief. Khan Bahadoor Khan succeeded to the Chiefship, and was a firm adherent of Shah Shooja's, when that prince was struggling to obtain possession of his kingdom from his brother. In 1841, however, he would not fall in with Colonel Mackeson's arrangements, who placed Baz Khan in the Chiefship. This man proved incompetent to control the tribe, and Azad Khan succeeded him, but on our final retirement Khan Bahadoor Khan resumed his birthright. His authority was paramount, but he died five years ago, and was succeeded by his son, Alladad Khan, who also died in 1854. His son, Sooltan Mahomed, succeeded, but the real authority is exercised by his uncle, Muddud Khan, a man of considerable capacity. Since this was written Muddud Khan has assumed the Chiefship himself, an allowance being made to Sooltan Mahomed. Muddud Khan is the representative of the Amir's

"party" in the Khyber. The tribe is well disposed, and not much addicted to thieving: there is no instance of a raid having been committed by them in our territories; they have furnished us too with many faithful and good soldiers, both in times of difficulty and since annexation. Foremost amongst these was the brave Futteh Khan, who, 16 years ago, first took service with Colonel Mackeson, and during the insurrection of 1848-49 supported Colonel Lawrence with 1,100 of his clansmen. Conspicuous for his gallant bearing and noble person, he attracted the notice of Sir Charles Napier in the Kohat Pass, and, as a signal mark of his favor, was placed on an elephant in front of the returning force. In acknowledgment of his services he received a pension from the Government, and, being yet a young and active man, was employed as Superintendent of Suburb Police. But his services were mainly useful when we were engaged in hostilities with any of the hill tribes; on these occasions his sagacity, courage, and intimate knowledge of the habits and organization of the hill men, were of eminent service, and never more so than in the operations which were undertaken against the Aka Khail in 1855. But his steady adherence to the side of Government cost him dear, and a host of enemies arose, bitterly resentful of this uplifting of the Afghan "purdah" by one of themselves. It was with grief that, whilst writing this Report, I received the intelligence of his murder. Desirous of revisiting his home and family, he obtained leave for a few months, was treacherously inveigled to partake of the hospitality of a kinsman, and, whilst engaged in prayer, was shot by his dastardly relative. In him the Government lost a faithful and gallant partisan. His brother, Shakoor Khan, was with 200 men at Bunnoo during the Sikh rebellion, and his cousin and nephew, Ahmud Meer and Alum Khan, remained with 1,100 men with Colonel Lawrence in Alee Murdan's Bagh. The summer residence of the Mullik Deen Khail is in the district of Maidan, north of Teerah, where they have extensive cultivation and numerous small forts.

224. The Kumbur Khail have a share in Kajooree, but were dispossessed by the Mullik Deen Khail, who occupied their lands for siding with the Kookee Khail in a feud arising out of the occupation of Gagree and Jumrood by the latter. These had agreed to give a share of the crops to the Mullik Deen Khail, but their numbers increasing, and aid being obtained from the Khuleels, they refused to adhere to their promise. The feud has lasted for nine years, and is now wearing out, but that with the Kumbur Khail continues, and in the last two years they are said to have lost a hundred men on either side. Since their ejectment from Kajooree they have been obliged to take up their winter quarters with the Kookee Khail. They number about 3,000, and live in the summer at Kaoo and Shuloobur, north of Teerah, and have three gurhies in the Bara District. Sher Mahomed Khan and Yar Mahomed Khan are the Chiefs. Their allowance from Cabool is Rs 1,300.

225. The "Sipah" is a small tribe numbering about 1,700 men, of whom 400 are "Humsayahs" of other tribes. They have winter

quarters in Kajooree, and their summer residence is in the Bara District. Serajodeen Khan is their Chief, and he receives 4,000 Rupees from Cabool. But Abdoolsalam and Noor Gool are influential men, and receive out of this sum a personal allowance of 320 Rupees each.

226. Noor Gool is the brother of Sooltan Mahomed, who now lives with the Aka Khail. Colonel Mackeson, in 1841, placed Sooltan Mahomed in the Khanship in room of Serajodeen, who was not found so pliant in carrying out that Officer's arrangements for the opening of the Khyber, but when our troops left the country, the tribe returned to their hereditary Chieftain, and Sooltan Mahomed was obliged to fly. He took refuge with the Aka Khail, who have allowed him to assume a large share of authority amongst them, sitting in their councils, and having a voice in all important matters affecting the tribe. He was one of the principal leaders in the attack upon Lieutenant Hamilton's camp at Buddabair in 1855. Eylumgoozar, the only Afreedie village in the plain, situated a couple of miles west of the Bara fort, belongs to the Sipah. Some twenty years ago it was surprised by Suchet Singh, under the guidance of Misree, the Kookee Khail Mullik, with which tribe the Sipah were then at feud. Some of the Afreedies were sent to Lahore, others were maimed, and all were treated with wanton cruelty. Maharajah Goolab Singh himself described to me the barbarities enacted by his brother on this occasion, giving them as a sample of the only mode of dealing with the race. The village remained waste for several years, but was re-settled by Colonel Mackeson in 1841. The lands of the Sipah in Bara are more fertile than those of the neighbouring tribes, yielding two crops in the year: their rice is celebrated.

227. The "Kummarai" tribe holds the remainder of Kajooree for its winter quarters. It numbers only 800 matchlock men (vide Appendix F.), and receives an allowance of 500 Rupees from the Cabool Government, which is divided amongst the tribe. Sher Khan is their Chief, but possesses little influence: the real authority is exercised by the Kazees of the clans, the principal of whom is Nooroolah Akhoond Zadah. Their summer quarters are in the spurs of the Soofaid Koh, and they possess, in a greater degree than the other tribes, the hardy qualities of mountaineers: they are good cultivators and sportsmen; have extensive herds of cattle, and are less addicted to plunder than any of their neighbours.

228. In no instance are the wild and lawless habits of the Afreedie race so fully illustrated as in the "Zakha Khail." Their upper settlements are in the Maidan and Bara Districts, and their winter quarters adjoin those of the Mullik Deen Khail: they occupy the hills at the south entrance of the Khyber, and their principal village is that of Bazar, where the greater portion of their cattle is kept; cultivating but little, despising the trade in firewood, which is the chief means of subsistence in the winter to most of the other tribes, they depend wholly upon plunder. Expertness in thieving is the sole characteristic which leads to distinction amongst them,

and is a virtue which maidens seek in their future husbands, and mothers fondly look to for their new-born babes. Every male child is consecrated, as it were, at his birth to crime: a hole is dug in the wall similar to those made by burglars, and the infant is passed backwards and forwards through it with the words "Ghal shah, ghal shah, ghal shah"—"Be a thief, be a thief, be a thief!" Their early training, in such homes, and with such associations, may be imagined, leading, as it does, to notoriety amidst a nation of robbers. They are the principal enactors of the daring crimes formerly perpetrated in the Peshawur cantonments, but by no means confine themselves to these: they rob the Bungush of Kohat, and the Khuleel of Peshawur on the Attock road, and in the districts on the Cabool river: and no other Afreedie tribe is safe from their depredations. Their want of faith is so notorious, that their oaths are not considered sufficient security even in Afreedie jeergas, which require from them hostages, or some substantial pledge, when it is necessary to enter into engagements with them. It was at the hands of men of this tribe that the Kaka Khail met his death in the Khyber as above narrated. It is said that being without a "ziyarut," or place of pilgrimage, in their own borders, and being thus necessitated to resort to the territories of their more fortunate neighbours, they seized and killed the first worshipful subject who came in their way. The unlucky Khuttuk answered all their requirements: he was slain. The stones were heaped over him, and in a few days the Zaka Khail were proudly paying their devotions at the grave of "their own" Pir! Their little intercourse with Peshawur removes them from that control which we possess over other tribes who resort to our markets; whilst their independent bearing towards their neighbours is caused by the circumstance of the road which leads from their lower to their upper seats, lying entirely in their own lands. All the other tirbes when migrating are obliged to pass through a portion of their neighbours' lands, and are thus exposed to injury from them when at feud. The time of removal is on this account commonly taken advantage of for purposes of retaliation or aggression. Treaties or concessions are sometimes made, and where these fail, a more circuitous route has to be taken by the Tarturra Pass to the plains. The favorable locality of the Zaka Khail in this respect, as above described, exempts them from all such annoyances.

229. They number only 3,000, and receive an allowance of Rs. 4,000 from the Cabool government, their Chiefs are Goolistan and Alladad. The latter assisted Colonel Mackeson in his Khyber management, and the opposite party is the one most favored by the Amir, though he has failed to crush Alladad, which proves the strength of the latter's party.

230. The Kookee Khail is a large tribe numbering 5,900 men (vide Appendix F.), and occupy an important position and influence in the politics of the Khyber, which they occupy as far as Ally Musjid; their settlements extending north of the Pass, and bordering on our Khuleel tuppah. Jubba, Gagrai and Kuddum are their villages at the mouth of the Khyber, and celebrated places of refuge for criminals. The tribe is more noted as affording an asylum to such criminals, than for any direct

acts of aggression: they are the principal traders in firewood, and we have consequently a ready means of bringing them to submission, when necessary, by debarring them from intercourse with Peshawur. This blockade was enforced against them on the occasion of the murder of Lieutenant Hand in January 1857 by men of this tribe near Jumrood; and, notwithstanding the troublous times which followed, they submitted to the payment of a fine of Rs. 3,000, a sum nearly equal to the amount of their annual Cabool allowance.

231. The Kookee Khail have possessions at Rajghur, a Pass near the source of the Bara, where they appear to be prosperous, and to cultivate extensively. Their allowance from Cabool is Rs. 4,000, and their Chief is Abdoolanoor. But there are several Mulliks, residing chiefly at Kuddum, who exercise great influnce, to whom personal grants are made. These are Misree, who receives Rs. 800, Nabât Akhoondzada 400, Sher Mahomed 100, and Zuffur 100: all four are the chief workers of evil. The tribe is much divided at present; Gholam Kadir, a cousin of Abdoolanoor's, claiming half of the allowances and of the Khanship. Gholam Hyder Khan, of Cabool, supports the former in his pretensions, who is also aided by Alladad, Zakha Khail. Abdoolanoor has the larger party in the tribe, and is supported by Serajodeen "Sipah," Muddud Khan, "Mullik Deen Khail," and Goolistan, "Zakha Khail." These alliances are very variable, but it is essential to the local authorities to continue acquainted with them, in order to fathom the plots and designs of cunning and interested parties.

232. Since the above was written Abdoolanoor has got rid of his rival, whom he caused to be murdered in 1856 by men of the Fareed Khail, to whom he paid a thousand Rupees for the work. He was slain inside his house, and a younger brother met the same fate at the doorway. As a sample of the state of society in those mountains, I may add that immediately after this double murder, Abdoolanoor married the mother of his victims and also the newly-married wife of Gholam Kadir, who was a daughter of Nabât Akhoondzada.

233. When the Sikhs were building the fort of Jumrood (called by them Futtehghur) they were dependant for water on the mountain streams which the Kookee Khail could dam up. The procuring of this necessary led to almost daily conflicts, and to much loss of life on both sides. The Kookee Khail cultivated largely at the foot of the hills, and the Sikhs retaliated upon them by destroying the crops: Amir Dost Mahomed was compelled to compensate the Kookee Khail for these losses by making them assignments in Bussowl equal to Rs. 4,000 per annum during the continuance of hostilities. The Sikhs also found it subsequently more politic to pay for the water, and they received the streams for two days and nights per mensem, in consideration of an annual payment of Rs. 1,000. This arrangement continued until the completion of the well in the fort, here water was at last met with at a depth of more than 200 feet.

234. It may be well to recapitulate here the Cabool allowances, or "mowajib," received by the tribes in the vicinity of the Khyber, with whom we are occasionally brought into contact. The present grants are as follows:—

Mullik Deen Khail	...	Rs. 9,000
Kookee Khail	...	„ 4,000
Zakha Khail	...	„ 4,000
Sipah	...	„ 4,000
Kumbur Khail	...	„ 1,300
Kummurai	...	„ 500
Shabbaz Orukzai	...	„ 100
Total,	...	Rs. 22,900

235. In the time of the Emperors the allowance was Rs. 1,25,000, it was afterwards discontinued, and the present grants were adopted by Dost Mahomed Khan. The Chiefs usually attend at Jelalabad to receive the allowances, but it is not all paid in cash, villages being assigned in lieu of a portion of it. But besides these allowances, certain authorized tolls are levied in the Khyber Pass by the tribes, and in times of peace they generally suffice to ensure a safe conduct: but this cannot be relied on, and travellers and kafilas are often stripped of their property by the excited Khyberees, who spring down from every nook and crevice at the scent of plunder. The fees so levied at various points in the Pass amount altogether to the following sums, viz.:—

A camel laden with cloth or valuables	... Rs.	5
Ditto ditto groceries	... „	3
A horseman	... „	3
A footman, or unladen camel	... „	1½
A load of leather	... „	2
A load of salt	... „	1

236. Half of these fees are taken by the Shinwarees, who receive no pay from Cabool. The other half is divided between the Zakha Khail, Kookee Khail, Mullik Deen Khail, Sipah and Kumbur Khail tribes.

237. The fee is sometimes paid in advance at Dakka or Jelalabad, but more frequently the share due to each tribe is paid to its representatives in the portion of the Pass for which it is responsible. The Sipah and Kumbur Khail have no villages in the Khyber, but portions of the road are in their boundaries, and their representatives are present to receive their shares; but for this reason a portion of the latter are made over by them to the resident clans.

238. The Khyber Pass properly so called extends from Kuddum, a cave village four miles south-west of Jumrood to near Dakka, a place on the Cabool River opposite Lalpoora, being a distance of 24 miles. The road is chiefly the bed of a torrent, at times dry, but filled after

rain: at first it is flat and covered with loose stones and gravel; but further on it becomes narrower, steep, and very winding. There is another mouth to the Pass called the Shadee Begyaree, lying west of Jumrood: it is eight miles in length and joins the other road at Alee Musjid. It is not so good as the one to the south-west (called the Jubbageir road), but it is practicable for laden animals and guns. Before quitting the subject of these Khyber tribes mention should be made of those factions which form a national characteristic of the Afghans, as they are more marked amongst the Afreedies than in other tribes.

239. The most general of these factions is that of "Samil" and "Garai." Tradition assigns its origin to two leaders of the Hindoo race, who, in a contest for power, enlisted the services of the Afghan tribes between them: the division then effected continuing to the present day.

With Samil sided the following:—

Mullik Deen Khail.
Sipah.
Kummurai.
Zakha Khail.
Aka Khail.
Adam Khail.
Half Orukzai.
Momunds.
Half Bungush.

With Garai were the under-mentioned:—

Kookee Khail.
Kumber Khail.
Half Orukzai.
Khuleel.
Half Bungush.

240. The feud breaks out occasionally, but it is now chiefly observable as influencing tribes in matters unconnected with it: in fact the feud may be said to have become extinct as such, but the *faction* lives and influences the tribes is their dealings with each other.

241. Individuals temporarily join with the opposite faction, when their own interests render such a step advantageous to them, but they never carry the tribe with them. Thus Alladad, Zakha Khail, has joined the Garai faction, though his tribe is Samil; and Saadut Khan, Momund has done so likewise, his son having married Alladad's daughter.

242. But every tribe, sub-division, and family has its factions (locally styled "Goondees"), which form a perfect system of partizanship throughout the nation. The state of parties is a necessary study for all Officers on the frontier: nothing can be done successfully with tribes in peace or war, nor the influence of individuals rightly judged without a knowledge of the "Goondees," with which they are connected. The

strength of these varies at different times, but such as they are they serve as correct indications of the strength or weakness of the tribe or individual at the time.

243. Although the existence of these parties is more observable amongst the independent tribes of the hills, yet the same remarks are applicable to the more settled tribes of the plain, where the influence of faction is equally powerful, though its results are less openly manifested. We shall have practical illustration of this in recording revenue details and arrangements.

244. Our hill neighbours, from the Kookee Khail to the Cabool river, are the "Moolagorees," a small and comparatively quiet tribe, who seldom commit aggressions in our territory. Half of the tribe is settled at Moordadund, and as they command the road taken by kafilas, which leads from Spir Sung in the north of the Khuleel tuppah, by the Tarturra Pass to Lalpoora, they exact tolls and occasionally plunder the merchants after their entrance into the hills. This portion of the tribe acknowledge a slight dependance upon Saadut Khan, their quarrels with whom are, however, frequent, and these invariably lead to acts of plunder on the road, a portion of which is occupied by the Momunds also, who have established themselves at Jowara Maina and Shilman, 5 and 7 koss respectively from our village of Spir Sung. The other portion of the Moolagorees are settled at Sussobai, and are not in any subjection to Saadut Khan, as their road to Peshawur lies through Bazar, Chorai, and Gagra to Acheenee, a large village in the Khuleel tuppah, three miles south-west of the Peshawur Cantonments. The Sussobai portion of the tribe have considerable trade with Peshawur, bringing chiefly dried fruits from Jelalabad.

245. The village of Moordadund is claimed by the Khuleels and the Mulliks of the Barozai clan of Khuleel at Shahee and Kafoor Dehri have always received from the reigning government annual allowances to preserve that portion of the border from encroachment. The claim has not, in our time, been actually asserted, but this is probably from a fear of the responsibilities which would attach to the charge (for it is by this road that all the horses stolen from Cantonments are taken), and it is well known that the aforesaid Mulliks do receive a "consideration" from the Moolagoree toll-gatherers of Moordadund: the question may require settlement at some future time.

246. The road to Lalpoora alluded to in this place is known as the Tarturra route: it is more difficult than that of the Khyber, but is preferred by merchants as being safer. The fees taken are the same as those in the Khyber, and are divided between the Moolagoree and Momunds: the men of Moordadund take an additional fee of two annas per camel.

247. Peer Mahomed Khan brought an army by this road with some swivel guns to assist his brothers at Peshawur. From Spir Sung in the plain it passes through Moordadund, Zmookai Bara, Lwarah

Menah, Jhwarah Menah and Shahid Menah, all Moolagoree settlements. Thence to Shilman in the Momund border, and to Dakka. At Shilman a road branches off to Loargai of the Shinwaries.

248. The Abkhana Pass is on the opposite side of the Cabool River: it passes by Michni to opposite Shilman, where the stream is crossed by a ferry, and the remainder of the route is by the Tarturra road. It is difficult and not much frequented.

249. West of the Moolagorees is the large tribe of Shimoarees. They number 12,000 men, and their Chief is Sikundur Khan; the mass of the tribe is inoffensive, they are great carriers, own numerous camels, and trade largely with Peshawur: their possessions extend to the Sofaid Koh.

250. We now arrive at the Upper Momunds, whose hills border upon our territory from the Cabool to the Swat River. Their possessions lie between the former, and the countries of Koonur and Bajour to the north, and extend to the Jelalabad district to the west. The ranges of the eastern portion of this tract are rocky, and void of vegetation, with craggy broken summits. Immediately round the villages some slight cultivation is carried on, but the crops are poor and unremunerative. Throughout this part of the district water is scarce, an uncertain supply being obtained from springs and reservoirs: the "Gundao," or Gundaab Pergunnah, derives its name from the quality of the water, the word literally meaning "bad, or unwholesome water." To the north and west the hills are loftier, but not so rugged: the valleys are broader, the roads better, and water more abundant: the hill sides are clothed with forest trees and brushwood, amongst which are the chenar or plane tree, the zaitoon, and the fir. Cultivation is extensive, and gardens of mulberries, vines, and plums are met with. Towards the west the hilly country terminates about 10 miles from Lalpoora, the intermediate tract being an open, uncultivated plain. Although this tribe descends from the same stock as the Momunds of the plain, all immediate connection between the two ceased to exist from the time of their original settlement in this country.

251. The Momunds number about 17,000 men, and are divided into six clans (vide Appindix F.); of these the "Turrukzai" is the chief, as containing the hereditary Khanship: the Michni and Pindialee divisions are also of this clan, which is, therefore, the most frequently brought into contact with us. The "Morcha Khail," Saadut Khan's branch, reside at Lalpoora, but a few of them have long been settled in the Michni villages. The "Alumzai" are also an important clan, as they occupy the hills adjoining our district opposite to Shubkuddur, between the Michni and Pindialee divisions. They are the most powerful branch of the tribe, and their head-quarters are at Gundao: their centrical situation enables them to exercise great influence, and they are the principal agents for arranging for the transit of merchandize through the Momund hills. Their chief Mullik is Ahmud Sher, a favorable specimen of the tribe.

252. The "Baezai" is the most numerous of the clans: its Chief is Khalid Khan of Goshtah, and its country is the most fertile portion of the district; the people also are more civilized and prosperous than their neighbours.

253. The three remaining clans are small, and need not be separately noticed.

254. The Momunds like all other Pathans, whilst clinging to democratic institutions, acknowledge the authority of their hereditary Mulliks of divisions and Chief or Khan of the whole tribe; and, perhaps, this authority is more real amongst the Momunds than is usually found elsewhere; still, however, in matters affecting the tribe, they cannot assume independence of action. The Khanship is vested, as before observed, in the Morcha Khail division of the Turrukzai. It was originally in the Isa Khail, and enjoyed by the ancestors of Nawab Khan of Pindialee, but was transferred four generations ago through the influence of the Alumzai and Baezai. Sadoola Khan, father of Saadut Khan, the present Chief, was the youngest of four brothers, who, each in turn, possessed himself of the Khanship, and fell by the hand of a brother or cousin. Saadut Khan, when quite a youth, removed his father's rival, and then avenged that father's death by slaying another relative, and afterwards himself assumed authority. During our brief interference with the affairs of the tribe in 1841, Torabaz Khan, the youngest son of Mazeola, became chief in his cousin's room, and by hospitably entertaining Dost Mahomed, and supplying his force with provisions, nearly secured his position after our troops had left the country. But Saadut Khan obtained the assistance of Mahomed Akhbar Khan at Jelalabad, and was finally reinstated in the Chiefship; Torabaz receiving a jageer at Shergurh of 6,000 Rupees per annum, which he continued to enjoy till his death in 1851. Saadut Khan had two sons, Futteh Mahomed and Sooltan; the latter of whom murdered his elder brother in 1852. This young man has more lately intimated that if his father's removal would be agreeable to us, he would have no objection to become a parricide! The Khan is connected with the Amir Dost Mahomed, whose son, Sher Jan, is married to Saadut Khan's daughter. The revenues of this Chief are principally derived from a Jageer in the district of Ningrahar, held by him from the Amir of Cabool, and yielding about 50,000 Rupees per annum. For this he is supposed to furnish a body of men when called upon, but in the late expedition to Balkh, he sent 20 men only, and the real object of the grant is to ensure a safe transit through the Momund territories for Cabool merchants, and also to restrain the tribe from predatory incursions in the Jelalabad district. It is worthy of remark that, notwithstanding the large annual grants made by the Cabool Government to the hill tribes, forays, murders and cattle-lifting are daily occurences in the plains of Jelalabad and Ningrahar. Raids, which on this side are now rare, and invariably followed by the punishment of those concerned, are there thought but little of. This subject will be more fully noticed in connexion with our Police arrangements. Out of the

above sum Saadut Khan makes large annual presents to the Chiefs of all the clans, except the Baezai, whose Khan receives an allowance direct from the Amir.

255. His name is Khalid Khan, and the amount of his grant is 8,000 Rupees per annum. He acknowledges the supremacy of Saadut Khan, but does not wait upon him periodically like the others. He makes presents to the Mulliks of his clan, and with respect to them holds the same position as Saadut Khan, to the tribe in general. Khalid Khan is connected with the Koonur Saiud Ayaoodeen, once Tehsildar of the Doab, and still in the enjoyment of a pension of 400 Rupees per mensem granted to him for conveying treasure to Sir R. Sale at Jelalabad; his sister is married to the Khan, and his daughter to the son of that Chief.

256. Nawab Khan is the Chief of the Isa Khail division of the Tarrukzai clan, and resides at Daq, a village of Pindialee. When Colonel Wade advanced to Jelalabad, and Shahzada Jumboor by the Turturra route, Nawab Khan and his father moved with a third party from Pindialee to co-operate, but he was met by Saadut Khan at Gundao, attacked and defeated in a skirmish in which his father was killed. I have never been able to ascertain why this Chief, then friendly to the British Government, and with the death of his father to avenge, has of late years been so inveterately hostile to us.

257. Rahmdad and Shekh Yar Gool, the principal Michni Chiefs, had an important position as commanding the passage of the Cabool river where it enters the plain, at the villages of Moosah Khail, Sadeen and Dubb, where they were enabled to levy tolls upon the merchandize floated down the river upon rafts.

258. Tolls are levied by the Momunds as by the Khyberies, with which, however, the former are content, and no instance occurs of the safe conduct which has been paid for, being violated. They are of two kinds; 1*stly*, "guide money" levied from the traders of Peshawur, Bajour and Koonur at the following rates:—

3	Rupees	per	Camel.
2	„	„	Horse.
1	„	or 8 As. per	Man.

Of this one-third is paid to the Pindialee and Kasim Khail branches of the Tarrukzai; one-third to the Alumzai, and one-third to the Khwaezai. 2*ndly*, duties levied at various points of the route from Lalpoora, the first of these is taken at the Mundee of that place itself at the following rates:

On Grain	1	Seer per	Maund.
„ Ghee	½	„ „	„
„ Iron	½	„ „	„
„ Sugar and fruit	1	„ „	„

The fee is levied from both purchaser and seller, and the proceeds are retained by Saadut Khan.

259. A transit duty or "guide money" is also levied at Lalpoora from merchants proceeding to and returning from Peshawur and Cabool at the following rates :—

From Cabool.

Per Camel	3 Rupees.
„ Horse	2 „
„ Footman	10 annas.

On return from Peshawur 8 annas per load. Of these duties one-third is the personal share of Saadut Khan, one-third of the Tarrukzai, and one-third of the Alumzai.

260. A vast amount of merchandize is brought down from Cabool by the river upon rafts formed of inflated skins. On their arrival at the ferry of Daodzai, these rafts are broken up, the skins dried and packed, and carried back by the Tarturra route. Upon each of these rafts a toll is levied at Lalpoora of nine Rupees ; whatever may be the nature of the freight, two-thirds are taken by the Tarrukzai and one third by the Alumzai. A second toll is levied at Michni of 6 Rupees on each raft, which is appropriated by the Michni tribes of the Tarrukzai.

261. From this it will be seen that the Baezai, Khwaezai, Othmanzai and Dawezai, occupying the more fertile portions of the country, chiefly support themselves by agriculture, whilst the Tarrukzai and Alumzai, our immediate neighbours, who are less fortunate in their soil, make up for it by levying duties upon the merchandize which passes over their inhospitable and barren mountains, a route, however, which is preferable to that of the Khyber, from its greater security, although purchased at a somewhat higher rate. The division of these tolls amongst the clans is rude, and even when added to the portion of the allowances received from Cabool, the shares of individuals would be too small for their support ; this is mainly derived from the lands assigned to them in the Peshawur valley, the loss of which, therefore is so keenly felt.

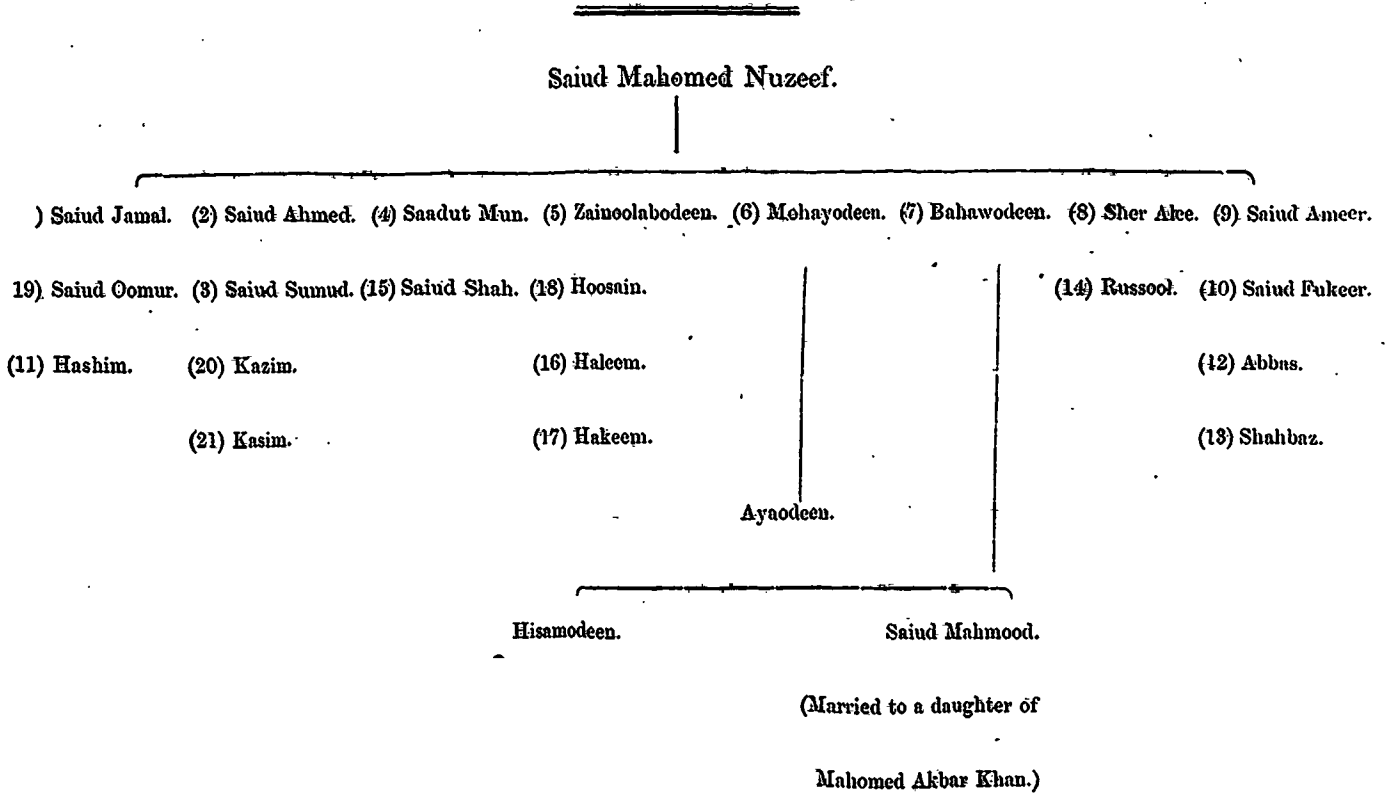
262. At annexation the Momunds were in possession of a Jageer in the plain, first assigned to them by the Delhi Emperors : they were worth conciliating in those days, for they command all those dams below Michni which lead the waters of the Cabool river to the irrigation cuts of Daodzai and Khuleel. The Jageer was originally valued at Rs. 12,000 and was in the name of the Khan of Lalpoora ; subsequently it was divided between the Alumzai and Tarrukzai clans, the former receiving the strip of land called Punjpao, lying under the hills adjoining Shubkuddur, and valued at Rs. 3,000; while to the latter were assigned a dozen villages below Michni, and situated in the Doab, formed by the separation of the Cabool into two branches, and collectively valued at Rs. 6,000. The events connected with the Momunds and their Jageer in late years will be recorded in a subsequent chapter.

263. Upon the whole, I consider the Momunds more civilized than the Afreedies, and not so addicted to plunder as a rule, but difficult to deal with on account of their excessive haughtiness and pride.

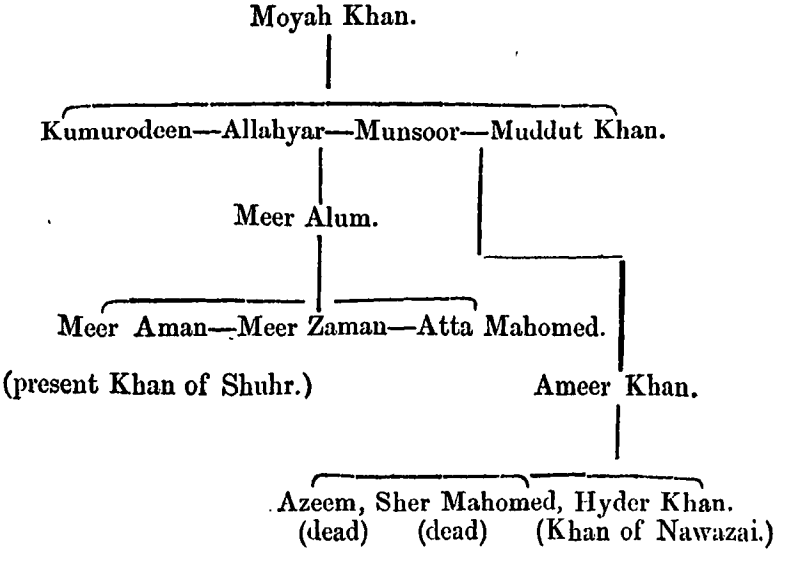
264. Adjoining the country of the Momunds to the north-west is situated the district of Koonur, yeilding about a lakh and a half of revenue annually, and once important as the seat of some Saiud Kings, who were independent at the close of the last century. The district is fertile and beautifully wooded, and the inhabitants of the plains are a quiet race of Tajuks, who remain in willing subjection to the ruler of the day: the surrounding hills are occupied by Shinwaries, Safis and Momunds, who acknowledge his supremacy, but pay no tribute. At the commencement of the present century, the Chief was Saiud Mahomed Nuzeef, who remained in power for upwards of 70 years: his authority was undisputed, and, by virtue of his sanctity as a Saiud, he obtained such influence in the neighbourhood, that the Khans of Bajour and of the Momund tribes were installed and deposed at his command. He had six guns, 120 zumbooruks, and a body guard of 2,000 men. But in 1819 Azeem Khan, after the death of his brother the Vazir, went against him and took the country. Mohayodeen, the Saiud's son, maintained a harassing war in the hills, which in three years compelled Azeem Khan to recall Mahomed Nuzeef from his retreat in Hushtnuggur, who was, however, again expelled by one of his own sons, Bahawodeen, who was allied to Azeem Khan by marriage, and thus acquired the country. Mohayodeen continued to support his father's claim, and waged war against his brother with varied success; he finally triumphed, and Bahawodeen fled to Cabool. But the Saiud had a large family of 21 sons, whose quarrels were frequent and bitter: in one of these Mohayodeen was slain, and it would be tedious to follow the many changes which took place in the family; each member struggling for power, the discord being increased by the death of Mahomed Nuzeef, ten months after the murder of his son. In 1827, on the occasion of Mahomed Zeman's expulsion from Jelalabad by the present Amir of Cabool, the latter enticed the numerous members of the family to come to him, when he settled the matter by giving Koonur to Bahawodeen, on the payment of an annual tribute of Rs. 21,000, assigning small jageers to the others at Jelalabad. But when it was discovered that Bahawodeen was in correspondence with Shah Shooja, he was supplanted by his brother, Saiud Hashim. Upon the arrival of the Shah at Cabool, Bahawodeen urged his claims, and a force went against Peshoot with Major McGregor and reinstated him. The defence of the place was conducted by Ayaoodeen, the son of Mohayodeen, who had carried on the government in the name of his uncle, Saiud Hashim: they held out the first day without sustaining any loss, but evacuated the place during the night. The Cabool disasters followed, and Saiud Hashim was finally restored by Akbar Khan, remaining in power for four years, after which Bahawodeen, recovering favor at Court, was reinstated upon the cession of half his territory, and the payment of Rs. 9,000 per annum. He is still in the same position, and evinces an implacable hatred to the British: several of his letters have come into our hands, written in a violent spirit of fanatical bigotry. The ceded half of Koonur is governed by an officer from the Court, who collects the

revenue. Ayaoodeen, who first fought against us at Peshoot, shortly afterwards joined our party, and when the besieged garrison of Jelalabad was in want of money, succeeded in conveying to Sir R. Sale a timely remittance, for which service he obtained a pension from Government of Rs. 400 per mensem : after annexation he was appointed Tehsildar of Doaba, which post he resigned in 1852, but still resides at Peshawur. His cousin, Hisamodeen, son of the present Saiud of Koonur, was also a Tehsildar in the Rawul Pindee District, but resigned in 1854, and has since returned to Cabool, where he is in high esteem at Court.

265. The details of this Koonur family may be noted here for purposes of reference.



266. North-east of the Momunds, lying between their territories and Swat, is the district of Bajour, the southern portion of which approaches, but does not border on, the Peshawur District. It is inhabited by the Turkanee tribe of Pathans, whose occupation of the country has been already related. They have maintained their independence, but the tribe, divided into several clans, acknowledges an hereditary Chief, the extent of whose power depends much upon his personal character: of late years it has been very limited. The people have a local reputation for manliness, and are more peaceful in their occupations. They can muster from 25 to 30,000 men. The country is fertile and celebrated for its wheat, which is largely exported. It produces quantities of iron of excellent quality, from which the Peshawur and neighbouring markets are supplied. The ore is not obtained by mining, but is washed down by the hill streams, collected chiefly by women, and exported in this pulverized state upon bullocks and donkeys; the further process of smelting is performed at Peshawur and other places of sale. Kummuroódeen was their most celebrated Chief in recent years, and was contemporary with Mahomed Nuzeef of Koonur, by whom he was deposed in favor of his brother, Munsoor, who met with a similar fate, being supplanted by another brother, Allahyar Khan, who gave his daughter to the Saiud. The Chiefship was soon afterwards divided between the two last-named brothers, and has remained so under their descendants, who are consequently always at feud; one resides at Nawazai, and the other at Shuhr. Sher Mahomed, the Chief of Nawazai, had also a strong feud with the Momunds regarding their disputed boundary, but in 1852, when we were engaged with the Momunds on the Doaba frontier, the quarrel was adjusted, at the instigation of Dost Mahomed, in order that both tribes might be able to act against us. Sher Mahomed died a few months ago, and was succeeded in his portion of the Khanship by his brother, Hyder Khan. It may be useful to note the members of this family also as follows:—



267. I have now briefly alluded to all the tribes in the vicinity of the Peshawur District to the west of the Swat river. The low range of hills bordering the district eastward of that stream, as far as the Ranezai Valley, is occupied by a portion of the Othman Khail. This tribe is divided into two chief clans, the "Oomur Khail," and the "Assoo Khail." The former possess the range on our frontier, and number about 3,000 men: the "Assoo Khail" dwell further back, on both sides of the Swat river, and number 5,000. They are a wild people, but do not go out of their own borders to plunder, though they are at all times ready to harbour our criminals, and to allow marauders from Swat to pass through their lands. Their villages are strongly situated, and difficult to approach; and the principal one of Prangurh, destroyed by us in 1852, was twice unsuccessfully attacked by the Sikhs. Saiud Meer, Mullik of Ambhar, is at present their head man.

268. From the Othman Khail to the Indus our border, as remarked at the commencement of this report, is a series of irregular valleys, formed by spurs from the higher mountains: these are all within our territories, except the most northerly one of Ranezai, to the north-east of the district, which is independent. The Ranezai are a branch of the Eusufzai tribe which settled in Swat and Bonair, and in common with their brethren, own a self-imposed allegiance to the Saiud King they have set up. Their position in the plain affords a convenient rendezvous for the turbulent spirits who have caused us so much annoyance from the direction of Swat, and a safe route for marauders in their expeditions to and fro. Our operations against this tribe will be spoken of in a subsequent chapter.

269. Separated from our territories by the Ranezai valley and the rugged range of the Aylum Mountains, the valley of Swat stretches far up to the north-east, parallel with that of Bajour to the west. It is watered throughout by the river of that name, and it possesses a rich and fertile soil. Rice is the chief production of its plains, and being of esteemed quality, is largely exported. The settlement of the Pathans here in the 15th century has been already narrated: they have maintained their independence, but owing probably to their having at once settled down to agricultural pursuits, and the position of their country, which has both secured them from attack and prevented their taking a part in the wars and expeditions of their brethren in the hills immediately around the Peshawur valley, they have lost the martial character for which they were once celebrated, and are held to be greatly inferior to the Mundun clan. But their customs have remained unaltered, and in their social institutions there is nothing to distinguish them from the rest of the Pathan nation. Their veneration for characters of more than ordinary sanctity has led them in latter years to submit to a yoke which they had never borne before. This was effected through the agency of Abdool Ghufoor, an Akhoond of high repute. This man was originally a disciple of another saintly character in Eusufzai where he passed the early portion of his life. At his patron's death he assumed the style of a hermit, and for many years dwelt in caves and amongst the hills; a mode of life, which with Pathans never fails to

secure the blind homage of their tribes. Miraculous powers were attributed to him, and he finally removed to Swat, and became the great referee in all matters concerning that and neighbouring districts. After annexation, when a brigade of our troops moved into Eusufzai, it was rumoured that the invasion of Swat was contemplated, and Abdool Ghufoor failed not to impress upon the divided parties of that country the necessity for union against the common foe, and the expediency of electing a head or king, without which their efforts would be weak and fruitless, and those who might be killed in action would be deprived of the blessings of martyrdom, which are believed to be bestowed only upon those who fall fighting under a king against infidels. The suggestion was readily adopted, and the Akhoond's nomination also accepted: he appointed Saiud Akbar Shah, of Sitanah, king of Swat, and the tribe quietly submitted to receive him, agreeing to pay tithes for the maintenance of his power and dignity. For some time these were paid regularly and without murmur, but the burden is becoming more intolerable every year, and opportunity only is wanting to cast off the yoke altogether. The tribute is reduced to a trifle, and even that is obtained with difficulty, whilst the power of the so-called king is little more than nominal. Saiud Akbar Shah is the grandson of Zamin Shah, who fled from his native residence of Tukhtabund in Bonair after murdering a cousin; but being a man of great repute for sanctity, he was welcomed by the Darozai clan, who made over to him, in free gift or "scree," the village and lands of Sitanah, situated on the right bank of the Indus, below one of the spurs of Mahabun. His descendants remained at that place, and favored the cause of Saiud Ahmed, who, as before remarked, placed two of the guns there, which he had taken from the Dooranees. After the death of that adventurer, his followers endeavoured to establish themselves in Kaghan, but were removed by Mr. Vans Agnew. Moulvees Inayut Alee and Walayut Alee headed the party, and on the pretext of going to Mecca, went to Attock, whence they suddenly moved up the right bank of the river, and took up their residence at Sitanah, which thenceforward became the head quarters of the Hindoostanee fanatics. Walayut Alee died there, and Inayut Alee is now their head: the party is formed of low outcasts, but the remembrance of Saiud Ahmed's successes tends to keep up their prestige, and to impart to the present gang of low adventurers a reputation which they in no wise merit. When Akbar Shah was called to Swat, he left his brother, Saiud Oomer, as his representative at Sitanah. The Khans of Swat are now impatient of the control of the puppet, and some of them have openly separated themselves from him: it remains to be seen how much longer the semblance of royalty can be maintained by the adventurous Saiud. Letters have been received more than once from several Khans of Swat, chief amongst whom is Ghuzun Khan of Deer, stating their readiness, on the appearance of a British Force in Swat, to remove the Saiud and become our subjects. It has always been the policy of the Akhoond and of Akbar Shah to keep up a system of marauding on our frontier, for which purpose they offer maintenance

to men of lawless habits and to influential refugees from our districts, whom they settle in villages about Ranezai, and incite to constant dees of depredation and violence; thus keeping up the fear of our invasion by encouraging acts which might be expected to lead to it; a fear upon which they originally founded their authority, and which is their best security for its preservation. Mixed with the Pathans are the descendants of the original inhabitants or Swattees, who soon adopted the creed of their conquerors: many of them remained in the country, becoming the cultivators and dependants of the new settlers.

270. Saiud Akbar Shah has since died. He was removed at the very time when his presence in Swat might have embarassed us, viz., at the commencement of the sepoy mutiny of 1857. He has had no successor in the kingship; and the people of Swat seem to have a nervous apprehension of the advent of Dost Mahomed towards their country.

271. To the south, the next district which adjoins our territory, is that of Bonair, a valley stretching from the Aghun Mountains to the Indus. The Burundoo stream, rising in the eastern slopes of those mountains, flows through the valley, and falls into the Indus above Sitanah. The tuppahs within the influence of this stream are fertile and well cultivated, but the other portions are dry. The Eusufzai clans settled in Bonair differ in no respects from the other divisions of the tribe: each has its hereditary Khan, who possesses, however, but little influence. Ahmed Khan of Punjpai has at present more authority than the others, and resides at Buggra. The Bonair men in former days were constantly called in by the Mundun clans to take part in their feuds, especially in the Loondkhwur and Sudhoom valleys, but they never crossed over as invaders merely as mercenaries, who, by throwing themselves into the contest, secured the victory for the faction which paid them for their services. They are said to number 12,000 men, which is probably not too high an estimate. A great many Parachass are settled in Bonair, who trade with our villages, by the Mallundray Pass, which is practicable for camels. The original inhabitants were of Goorkha descent, some remained and were converted to Islam; they are known as Boonairwals.

272. South-east of Bonair is the small valley of Chumla occupied by a mixture of all the Mundun clans, of whom three-fourths are of the Amazai. It was here that the Munduns left their families during their contest with the Eusufzai, which terminated in the occupation of Swat and Bonair by the latter, and of the plains in the Peshawur valley by the former. Individual families of different clans continued to reside there whose descendants have since retained the district, and now number about 4,000 men.

273. In the hills south of Chumla are the Khoodo Khail of Punjtar, a branch of the Dorozai clan of Mundun, settled in our districts upon the Indus. Their Chief is Mokurrab Khan of Punjtar, whose father, Futteh Khan, has been already prominently noticed as the main

supporter and ally of the notorious Saiud Ahmed. His power is not great, and he is constantly embroiled with his own people, from whom he endeavours to extort more than they are willing to yield. In this position he seems inclined to resort to his father's policy, and to call to his aid the fanatics of Sitanah; but if these once gain access to his country, they will inevitably commit depredations within our border, which will lead to his and their ruin. In 1858 the valley of Punjtar was visited by a British force, and the clan punished for their acts of hostility in 1857. On that occasion the power of Mokurrab Khan was broken, and he is now dependent on the Government support for the position he has retained in the tribe.

274. The corner, between Punjtar and the Indus, is occupied by the Jadoons who live on the slopes and spurs of the Mahabun range: they are a quiet, orderly race; independent, but living on friendly terms with their neighbours. The chief portion, perhaps, of this tribe is settled in the Hazara District, where they have long been amenable to Government.

275. Having thus briefly noticed all our neighbours, a few words must be added regarding the tribes whom we found in occupation of the valley at annexation.

276. These may be conveniently classed into two divisions; 1st, the residents of Eusufzai and Hushtnuggur; and, 2nd, those of the Doaba and districts south of the Cabool river.

277. The former more nearly resembled the independent tribes in the hills, especially those on the Eusufzai border with whom they were, indeed, closely connected. We have seen that the Sikhs had but half conquered them, realizing a doubtful revenue through the Khans of districts.

278. In them we have a fair specimen of civilized Pathans. I cannot think of a people to whom they may better be compared than to the Canaanitish States in the patriarchal times. Like them they were divided into a number of small independent communities, consisting of a chief town (the original settlement) with a surrounding district and dependant villages; the latter put out either as population increased, or as distant fields were brought under cultivation. These are called "bandahs," and in Eusufzai have retained their position as subordinate hamlets. In other places they have gradually acquired a separate importance as independant villages. The chief men of these communities were their Mulliks or Khans, who are simply patriarchal Chiefs with limited powers, who appear to have been nothing more than leaders in war, and agents for the clan in their transactions with their neighbours. The real power rested in the body of the adult male population, especially in the elder portion of it. The share of the Khan in the hereditary possessions of the community was not larger than that of his brethren, nor his privileges greater than to secure for him the semblance of a rude Chiefship. Some of the Khans in later times, as will be seen in the

next Chapter, acquired further rights and privileges; but I am now describing the general state of the Eusufzai communities at the time of annexation.

279. Such appears to have been the exact condition of the Canaanitish States in Abraham's time, though we are apt to attach more importance to them from the circumstance of their Mulliks being known to us as "Kings," the literal translation of the term. Instances are numerous of their affairs being thus settled and determined by the community at large, and not by the will of individuals. Thus the sons of Jacob proposing the conditions of an alliance with Hamor, Mullik of Shechem, they were well received by the latter, but he would give no final answer until he had communed with the men of the city in the gate (Genesis xxxiv). So likewise Abraham, in transacting about a transfer of land, deals not with the King of the Hittites, but "bowed himself to the children of Heth." (Genesis xxiii.) Throughout the sacred narrative the dealings of the patriarchs with the Canaanitish princes and people are but as the simple occurrences of every-day life amongst the Pathan communities of Eusufzai.

280. And in this place I would notice a custom which prevails here, and which may be connected with the national tradition of their Israelitish descent; it is similar to the law of the scape goat (Numbers xvi). In times of severe pestilence, when the visitation is looked upon as a Divine judgment for the sins of the people, a goat or calf is taken and brought before a solemn assembly, where the Chief Moolahs lay their hands upon its head, and turn it loose in the desert—thus typifying the sending away of those sins for which they believe themselves to be suffering.

281. In the second division of the district (south of the Cabool river) much of this independence had been lost by the assistance afforded to the chief men by Government in reducing their clansmen to a subordinate position: they had not, indeed, lost the peculiar characteristics of Afghan communities, but these had become fainter; and the will of the Chief in many cases superseded that of the brotherhood. The chief men of these districts were styled "Arbabs," and they were in the enjoyment of large estates and allowances, usually farming the revenues of their districts, and marshalling their clansmen at the bidding of the local ruler. Subordinate to them were the Mulliks of villages, or rather of families; for each family sent its representative Mullik to the village council. The general mass of the population was agricultural; but there has always been a tendency amongst the younger portion to seek military service for a time, returning to their homes when they have amassed sufficient means to reclaim their ancestral fields. The constitution of the village communities will be detailed in the next Chapter; here it may suffice to remark that with certain peculiar characteristics they possess most of the features observable in the villages of Upper India and the Punjab.

282. The hospitality for which Afghans are notorious is carried to such extremes as to cripple their means of paying the revenue; an un-

limited supply of beds, blankets, and food is the mark of a true Afghan Mullik; one who resorts to economical arrangements in his household is lightly esteemed, however excellent his character may be in other respects: so also is the Mullik who keeps food of two qualities, the superior for his own use, the inferior for that of his guests.

283. In every parish or "kundee" of a village is a place of public resort called the "hoojra," which is sometimes the property of individual Mulliks, but more frequently of the parish. There the male population meets in the evening to discuss affairs; here, too, guests are received and entertained; loose characters of the village more frequently passing the whole night at the hoojra than in their own houses.

284. The villages have for the most part an air of great comfort; the Court yards being large, with, in most instances, a patch of vegetables or a clump of mulberries in the enclosure: the mosques and hoojras are chiefly in the outskirts, with wells and groves in the vicinity. In most villages their is a good supply of running water, which not only encourages plantations of this kind, but saves the female portion of the community the labour of "grinding," as water-mills are universal, and hand-mills unknown.

285. In most villages there exist indications of a former state of society in small mud forts or towers similar to those of the hill villages before described, places of refuge in days gone by, when one parish was pitted against another in deadly feud, or when the whole village had to watch against the advent of a neighbouring clan, or of Sikh officials. Many of these have disappeared, or been converted into cattle sheds and ordinary domiciles.

286. The knowledge of the tribes in the plain is little more than that possessed by their brethren in the hills; their bigotry and superstition as great. Every where Moolahs, Shikhs and Saiuds are objects of reverence, whose temporal wants are freely attended to. Moolahs of note attract to their mosques a number of wandering adventurers from other countries known as "talib-ilm," or seekers after learning; but who are most frequently idle vagabonds, ready to join in any piece of mischief which comes in their way; and sometimes the regularly employed spies of robbers and dacoits.

287. The Afghans are a joyous people, and the wealthier classes much addicted to field sports, chiefly hawking. Festive gatherings are frequent, either at the shrines of popular saints, or at centrical places where such meetings are held periodically, and where people seem to come together, not to buy and sell or even to quarrel, but simply to make a noise and be happy. Tilting, shooting at a mark, racing and wild music relieve the monotony; whilst the boisterous groups of children and young lads to be seen at these fairs as well as in the villages are a sure indication that this happiness is not merely a holiday garb, but attends the Afghan in his home, be he peasant or noble.

288. The most attractive fairs at the city of Peshawur are those of the Eed and the Jhunda Mela, observed elsewhere in the Punjab I believe as the Chhurree Mela, and kept in honor of Sukhee Surwur, or Surwur the munificent.

289. Peshawur itself (population 54,000) is the only city in the district, and possesses no architectural effect. The buildings are poor, chiefly built with a frame work of timber filled in with small burnt bricks: this style is adopted on account of the frequent earthquakes experienced in this quarter. The main street leading through squares, octagons, and markets, and generally crowded with men and women of every race and costume, is picturesque; but the remainder of the city is closely packed and badly drained. The houses of the wealthier classes, though unpretending in appearance, are well adapted for comfort; being generally in the form of a quadrangle, with from three to five stories, and subterranean rooms for the hot weather. Public "hamams" afford a popular luxury to the inhabitants.

290. On an eminence to the east of the city is the building known as the Gorh Kuthri. It was originally a place of Hindoo pilgrimage, and Baber records a visit which he paid to it in 1519. He describes it as a mass of narrow and dark hermits' cells, which he could only enter by crawling and with torches. The ground was covered with hair of the head and beard cut off by the pilgrims. In the time of the Sikhs it was the reisdence of the Local Governor and some of his Troops. It is now converted into a serai, with new buildings over the two gate-ways—one of which forms the Tahsil.

291. To the south the city is hid from view by dense orchards of apple, quince, peach, and plum trees; they form a favorite resort for the citizens of all classes; especially in the early spring: but until roads were cut through them in all directions, they were also the hiding places of robbers, where they formed their plans and first removed their plunder.

292. In the cold weather the district is visited by large numbers of Hazaras and Jadroons. The former from the hills beyond Cabool, and the latter from a wild district in the vicinity of Khelat-i-Ghilzie: they return to their homes in the latter part of February, or beginning of March. During their stay they are well behaved, gaining their subsistence as day laborers: the Jadroons (who are Afghans) being celebrated as builders of mud walls and towers, as well as excavators of canals and subterranean passages.

293. The nature of the tenures in this district has been partially noticed in former reports, but may appropriately be reconsidered preparatory to entering upon the details of the present settlement. The constitution of Pathan communities bears, at first sight, some resemblance to the feudal tenures of the middle ages; but on a closer examination we find essential differences, the tribes indeed acknowledge an hereditary Chief, but the influence he possesses is due to personal character, not to his position as head of the clan, the members of which pay allegiance to

the tribe, rather than to the Khan ; hence the latter has, by right, no larger share in the inheritance than any other individual, nor can he assume, in the management of affairs, any independence of action. At the original settlement of the Pathans the " duftur," or family inheritance of each tribe, was assigned to them by the Shikhs mentioned in a former Chapter. These formed the tuppahs of the present day, the further sub-division of which was conducted by the elders of the tribe. This was usually effected by lot, much in the way which according to Josephus, obtained amongst the Israelites in Canaan.

294. The " duftur" was first divided into the required number of shares or " bukhras," not according to any fixed standard, or measurement, but with reference to the nature of the soil, facilities of irrigation, &c. The names of sharers were written on white stones, or pieces of wood, and these being taken at random, were placed in the several portions, which became the property of the individuals whose names appeared on the stones. But however equitably the original share may have been assigned, in the course of time great differences would become apparent, and with a view to their adjustment, the expedient of periodical transfers was adopted, whole villages or portions of them thus changed lands every 3, 5, 7, or 15 years, when the internal distribution of shares had to be again effected with reference to the number of sharers.

295. The Pathan families at first located themselves in one spot, or in villages adjacent to each other, for the sake of mutual protection, the remainder of the tuppahs being held in common, and used chiefly as pasturage.

296. Each man cultivated his bukhra, or any portion of it, at pleasure, paying no tribute or share of the produce to any one, his duty to the tribe requiring only that he should join in all offensive or defensive operations, undertaken in accordance with the resolutions arrived at by their " Jeergahs" or Councils.

297. Very little land, in the immediate vicinity of the villages, was at first brought under cultivation, but this was increased with their numbers, and when cultivators from other parts settled amongst them. These were styled " fukeers," and the system usually adopted with them was to require service only in lieu of the land which they were allowed to cultivate on their own account. This service consisted chiefly of attendance on the " dufturee," or proprietor, in his raids and fights with his neighbours, in furnishing grain and grass for his guests, and providing beds and blankets for their use in the " hoojras," or houses set apart in each quarter of a village for the reception of guests, keeping in turn watch and ward, with occasional demands for labor in building and at harvest time.

298. The Priesthood had no share allotted to them under these distributions, but it was incumbent on the communities to set aside a provision for them, as " seree " or free-gift.

299. This primitive order of things continued for many years, but by degrees several of the Khans assumed rights and privileges which did not of right belong to them, and collected fees from the non-proprietary members on the occasion of births and marriages.

300. The encroachments of one clan upon the lands of another led to the establishment of "bandahs," or "hamlets towards the boundaries of tuppahs," these were occupied partly by the poorer Pathan members, but chiefly by the non-proprietary cultivators, who still paid no portion of the produce, but held the land on the condition of warding off aggression, and joining the tribe in its expeditions, their distance from the original settlements exempting them from the minor services formerly exacted.

301. The personal character of some of the Khans enabled them at this time to make further innovations, and they frequently acquired such power as to enable them to settle villages on their own accounts, realizing a certain portion of the produce, and even to remove proprietors from one locality to another. But the feeling of the people has always been so antagonistic to these assumptions on the part of their Chiefs, that the latter found it usually more prudeut to accept waste lands from the brotherhood as "seree" or free-gift, than to take possession by open violence.

302. The state of Eusufzai prior to the Sikh rule exemplifies the above condition of the communities, one which could not remain in force, when the Government of the country passed into other hands. The change took place earlier in other parts of the district, and when the Sikhs possessed themselves of Peshawur the description applied to Eusufzai alone.

303. In other pergunnahs the claims of Government introduced a more complicated system, so long as no demand was made upon the proprietors, they were content that their lands should be held by cultivators on a service tenure, their own position and influence in the tribe depending in a great measure on the number of their followers. But when that demand was enforced, it became their object to cast the burden upon the cultivators, and this gave rise to the large exemptions under the name of "inam," which exist in all villages. It was in point of fact the portion of the estate cultivated by the proprietors themselves, and although a comparatively small share of this now remains to them, it is still absolutely large; in Khuleel it is one-fourth, in Momund one-sixteenth of the whole. The nature of this "inam" must be borne in mind, or we shall be apt at the present day to confound it with the "malikana." It has nothing to do with the fees paid to managing lumburdars, an office unknown prior to our rule when the villages were in the hands of farmers, either Hindoo capitalists or influential Arbabs and Mulliks. It is still connected with, and evidences proprietary right; none but a "dufturee" can claim "inam," and the portion of a village thus excluded from the Settlement, is the property of the brotherhood.

304. In former days it represented the actual cultivation of the proprietary body, and was the only profit accruing to them from the estate, beyond that of personal services of the nature previously described. From the remainder of their lands they collected nothing, the cultivators being responsible for the Government share.

305. The farmers found it to their interest to increase this "inam" in favor of influential Mulliks, but in most cases it has been gradually reduced, and confined to small grants to the chief proprietors, indicative of those rights in the estate which have been now acknowledged and recorded. It is not, however, unfrequently found that the portion of this "inam" held by an individual is his sole share in the estate, all other rights which his ancestors may have possessed, having passed out of his hands.

306. The system of joint village responsibility was unknown prior to annexation, but it has not been found difficult to introduce it; and indeed it is consonant with the habits of the people in other than revenue matters.

307. But whatever peculiarities may have existed formerly amongst Pathan communities with reference to land tenures, they have been mostly removed under the operations of the systems introduced by successive Governments, and now that joint responsibility has been enforced, beyond a few local usages and peculiarities, there is little to distinguish them from those which exist in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, except with regard to Eusufzai.

308. It may be well here to enumerate the classes of which the villages were composed at annexation. The Khans, of whom I have spoken, were found only in Eusufzai and Hushtnuggur, in the other pergunnahs, their place was supplied by Arbabs. Their office has been described in a former Chapter, and I need only repeat here that, as farmers of the revenue, they exercised great influence amongst the village communities, which they owed more to their official position than to their rank as Chiefs, which gave them *per se* no superior share in the inheritance. Their office, however, enabled them to appropriate much to which they had no title, and on our assuming charge of the district, they were mostly in possession of large estates. They were continued in the enjoyment of these as jageerdas, but their services were dispensed with as farmers of the revenue; even under the Sikhs it was in the Momund and Khuleel Tuppahs only that they maintained their full power, in which districts their services could not well be dispensed with at that time, as it was chiefly through them that the hill tribes were kept in check, and the peace of the district preserved. In the Doaba, Daoodzai, and Khalsa Tuppâhs, the Sikh government either exercised a more direct interference, or placed the Barukzai Sirdars in power, and the Arbabs were held in but little account. The Arbabee in all these is now practically extinct.

309. The body next in importance was the Mulliks, or heads of families. Owing to the peculiar jealousy amongst Pathans of the assump-

tion of authority by individuals, the number of this class was very large, and a village was a cluster not merely of several branches of a tribe, but of small families, the members of which, bound together by the closest ties of kindred, yielded obedience only to their respective Mulliks. The office was in its nature hereditary, and formed so important an element in the constitution of Pathan society, that it is difficult to introduce any modification of a system, which, under a regular Government, is fraught with much evil and contention. It was this portion of the proprietary body which was chiefly in the enjoyment of "inam," and though the other proprietors shared in it, yet this was very much at the option of the Mulliks, in whose names the exemptions were made. They were in fact nothing more than the heads, or representatives of families united together for purposes of mutual advantage, but entirely independent of each other, and watchfully jealous of any interference. Pathan tradition states that the term is derived from the title conferred on King Saul. The Sikhs held every Mullik responsible for the family which he represented, but one Mullik was never associated with another in this responsibility. In one village, therefore, there might be 30 or 40 Mulliks, and they must not be confounded with the lumburdars, or managing proprietors of our time. The Sikh government, however, assumed and exercised the right of removing them at pleasure, but except in rare instances (always followed by bloodshed) the Government nominee was still a member of the particular family he represented. One of the chief difficulties, which at first presented themselves at the settlement, was the introduction of joint responsibility, and the nomination of men from amongst the proprietors who should enter into engagments with the Government. It was not, indeed, advisable to abolish the office in *toto*, as it formed one of our best securities for the peace and well-being of the villages, but it was evidently desirable for revenue purposes to limit the number of engaging proprietors, and this has gradually been effected throughout the district, except in Eusufzai, where the state of society is such as will not yet admit of such a radical change; this will be more particularly treated of in my remarks upon that pergunnah. But the fee, which is realized for the remuneration of the lumburdars, is distinct from the "inams" which latter must still be considered as the joint property of the brotherhood, or of such portion of them as have been in acknowledged possession of it. Now, as formerly, the Mulliks, who are "inam" holders, are responsible in all matters connected with the family, and are removable by the Government, the lumburdars receiving "puchotra" for the distinct dudties attaching to that office, which may or may not be held by Mulliks who are in the separate enjoyment of "inam." These remarks will account for the large number of lumburdars which will be found in many villages, they have been greatly reduced at the present settlement, but at a future period the number may with advantage be still further diminished.

310. The remaining body of proprietors are styled "dufturees" holding their ancestral shares in virtue of their descent from the founder

of the family. In explanation of much that at first sight is calculated to tend to misapprehension, it may be noted, that the measurement of land was totally unknown, the shares having been originally allotted according to the capabilities of the several tracts, remained in joint possession of *the family*, the title of the individual was never suffered to become extinct, though the actual extent of that title was never definitely assigned beyond his right to work one, two, or more ploughs in the dufter as the fractional portion of a "bukhra" or share.

311. In former times when land was plentiful, and cultivators few, this circumstance entailed no inconvenience; a man left his home to seek service in foreign countries and returned after the lapse of years to find his claim uncontested. Under the Dooraree and Sikh Governments also, when actual possession was accompanied by personal responsibility for the revenue, such emigrations were more frequent, but still the returning Pathan was always welcomed home, as strengthening his party, and adding to the stock from which the Government demand was to be paid. But under all circumstances, and after any length of absence, the Pathan could claim his rights, and he cared not who cultivated the land in the meantime, resting assured that he would acquire possession whenever it suited his convenience. During the first years of our rule, these absentee proprietors found their claims, for the first time, contested, and in dealing with such cases it was necessary to allow a great latitude to parties preferring them, it was evidently most agreeable to the public feeling that the latter should be reinstated, but at the same time, it was undoubtedly desirable that some limitation should be fixed, accordingly the present settlement has been considered the appropriate time for finally determining all such disputed points. The work was laborious, for in every village the claimants were manifold, but the result has been an accurate record of the rights to be acknowledged for the future. Where possession could not be proved for more than one generation, the claim was rejected; but in cases where such possession was clear, either the claimant received the whole or a portion of the land, or being recorded as the proprietor, became entitled to receive a fixed percentage on the jumma from the non-proprietary cultivator whose right to the cultivation of the land was declared. This percentage on the jumma appeared to me better adapted to the circumstances, than a payment in kind of a fixed portion of the produce, as being less likely to breed contention by bringing the hostile parties into close contact. Although these hereditary cultivators would have raised strong objections (under a Government which acknowledged their rights) to the relinquishment of a portion of the produce, I have found them generally quite willing to pay the percentage in acknowledgment of a right not less indisputable, though in our view more remote than their own. Where this percentage has been decreed, it must be considered as a fair commutation of the personal services which the tenure originally required, but which from their nature cannot be enforced under our rule, and where land has been absolutely restored to proprietors, the measure will not be considered arbitrary, when it is remembered, that the

party losing possession must always have anticipated the possibility of such loss. But rights of both parties have been considered and adjusted on their merits in a broad spirit of equity, appeal has been open and freely resorted to throughout my proceedings, and I think the best proof of the general consent of the people to the measures adopted, is the almost total cessation of disputes which I understand to have taken place, in contrast to the throng of applicants, who, for the first five years of our administration, besieged the courts.

312. Little need be said of the position of the remaining portion of the community, comprising, as elsewhere, the hereditary cultivators and tenants at will. The former, usually styled amongst Pathan, "Fukeers," held their land originally upon a service tenure, but when the country passed into the hands of a settled Government, and revenue was demanded, it was upon them that the burden chiefly fell. At annexation, therefore, we found them in the actual possession of all proprietary rights, except that of sale or transfer, but acknowledging a vague liability to ejectment from a portion of their holdings on the appearance of the rightful owner. The service too which they had in former times been called on to render, had in the course of years, and the social changes created by successive Governments, gradually become less definite, and may be said indeed to have depended solely on the power of the dufturee to exact them. Every thing tended to make their position one of independence; on the one hand, the proprietors were interested in retaining them on the estate; and on the other hand, the Government farmers supported a class to which they mainly looked for profit. But the ejectment, to which I have stated them to be liable, applied only to such lands as they occupied in the absence of the dufturee, they were all in possession of shares assigned to them *as fukeers* to the occupation of which they retained a hereditary right. What remained to be determined at the present settlement was the extent to which the latent right of proprietors should be acknowledged and enforced, in the lands which cultivators had occupied in their absence, and this has been done as above explained, with reference to the merits of each case.

313. In Eusufzai, the Khans and Mulliks have retained more of the primitive system, and the fukeers have been made to pay a share of the produce to them in addition to the small Government demand, the share so taken being one-third and one-fourth of the whole. This also has been adjusted (as far as the settlement of that pergunnah has been completed) and the share of produce commuted into a percentage of the jumma.

314. The tenants-at-will received land on stated terms for the two seasons of the year, and were responsible for the revenue of those seasons. Amongst this class may be included the numerous personal servants who received their wages by such assignments of land, the proprietor usually furnishing the seed and bullocks, and receiving half the produce, being responsible himself for the revenue. More generally, however, such

holdings ware assigned from the "inam" lands upon which there was no demand.

315. In every village the Hindûs and artizans were considered in the light of "fakeers," or "humsayahs," they paid fees to the Khans or Mulliks as ground-rent, receiving from the latter the wood for roofing. They paid also fees on births and marriages, varying from ten to thirty Rupees. These have been all now abolished, together with the arbitrary restrictions, which obliged them to sell their wares, or to give labour in their respective trades at fixed low rates to the Pathans of the community to which they belonged.

316. From the foregoing observations it will be perceived, that no assessment could be equitably distributed, and trustworthy record of rights framed, until the lands were brought under measurement especially in the pergunnahs about Peshawur, where land is not so plentiful as in Eusufzai and Hushtnuggur, and where consequently the first rude division of the soil has been lost in the confusion of subsequent changes, and the possession of certain shares or bukhras is all that can be recorded, a very loose definition of the property. It might appear marvellous that many of the orders of our courts have, under these circumstances, been capable of being carried into effect, for although an officer might, on the record of a case, decree a half or a quarter bukhra to a claimant, yet he was decreeing what sometimes he himself and the parties at issue had no fixed idea of, but fortunately the "clan," or "brotherhood," have been our great helpers in this difficulty, and when it has been determined what share of an estate is to be made over to an individual, the decree is carried out by the people themselves on the principles of valuation to which they have been accustomed.

317. In some respects this has been advantageous, for we have worked with the people in their own way, and thus rendered the courts popular; the decision being founded on the merits of the case, were not marred in their execution by an injudicious interference with details.

318. The putwarees, to whom we had to look for the requisite Machinery, were an ignorant class of Hindûs, whose functions had hitherto been confined to the weighment of grain, adjustment of advances, and similar duties which they performed simultaneously with the private business of their shops. In most villages there were two or three putwarees, attached to different factions, and remuneration was inadequate, consisting of fees in kind levied at the harvest.

319. An attempt was made to instruct these men in the new duties to be required of them, but it entirely failed, and I obtained permission to the establishment of a school at Peshawur, where candidates for the office were instructed in field surveying. A great number attended this school, chiefly young men who had been employed in the villages under the Sikh government as Mohurrirs. They all write the Persian character, which for the sake of neatness and uniformity, has been generally adopted to the exclusion of Hindee.

320. In the mean time the villages were divided into circles with an aggregate average jumma of Rs. 4,000, thus giving the putwaree an income of Rs. 120 at the rate of 3 per cent., and the most efficient men were placed in charge of these circles.

321. The Hudbust and Thakbust maps were long since completed except in Eusufzai and Hushtnuggur, and the shujras have been also prepared for the same pergunnahs.

322. The khewuts have been drawn up, and the revenue adjusted according to the shares of individuals, but a column has been left vacant, in which the actual measurements of each will be entered from the shujra, and the revenue can then be re-distributed if it should be desired. Before the expiration of the present Settlement, therefore, it may be expected that these measurements will be accurately recorded, and excellent data available for a permanent Settlement; the expense has been very trifling, consisting of the pay of four instructors, and the charges for instruments and rewards, not amounting to Rs. 2,000 in all, for which we have obtained a sufficiently accurate field survey of the whole district, except Eusufzai and Hushtnuggur; at the same time the old Dhurwais were maintained as village weighmen, for, as the repositories of all local affairs, they could not safely be entirely superseded by strangers, who were more ready with their pens, and better able to supply the papers and measurements required by Government.

323. I have before stated that at the time of annexation most of the villages were in farm. At the summary Settlements, which have been made from time to time, the Mulliks were induced gradually to take up the leases of their villages, which was a step in the right direction; many failed, however, in consequence of the improvidence which is natural to Pathans, and the jumma was still undoubtedly high. The chief expenditure of the Afghan gentry is the free hospitality they exercise; it is no uncommon thing to see in a Mullik's house from 50 to 100 spare blankets, and entertainment provided for as many guests. But, however high might be the jumma, they would frequently engage for it, in preference to seeing a relative supplant them.

324. It became a great object to induce the whole of the brotherhood to share in the profit and loss, and this has now been effected, the khewuts having been taken up with a few rare exceptions. It cannot fail of being attended with great benefit both to individuals and to the community; every man having his own interest to look to, will not join in the factions which have been heretofore so commonly formed for the annoyance or ruin of private enemies, and feuds will thus gradually die out, which tend so greatly to disorganize the brotherhood. The record of individual rights, and the security to individuals of the profits arising out of those rights, will do more perhaps than any thing else to introduce settled and peaceful habits amongst a people to whom they have been hitherto unknown. The only exception to the rule has been in the case of Chiefs whose influence it was impolitic to lessen. These men

had always the leases of the villages in which they resided, and they hold them still; their prosperous state and the comparative freedom of those villages from feuds and disturbances, shew that such leases were not attended with evil results, whilst they enabled the Chiefs to maintain their hereditary position.

325. The Sikhs had imposed many extra fees upon the agriculturists, under the name of "Huboobat," in excess of the half of the produce which was always the Government share on irrigated lands, that on unirrigated tracts varying from one-third to one-eighth. The fees were abolished at an early period of our rule, and the basis of all our Settlements has been the average produce of former years; but as prices have fallen considerably, the payment of cash rents, calculated in this way, has proved very difficult, balances have been heavy, and it was evident that the revenue was more than could be realized with profit to the people. But successive alterations have, I think, brought it down, not only to a fair, but to a positively light demand. Indeed, in most districts, I should have hesitated to recommend such a low assessment, but at Peshawur I feel convinced that the best interests of Government are to be secured by the encouragement of agricultural industry, not amongst one class only, but throughout the community. The experience of past years is a satisfactory indication of the change which will take place, and, however beneficial may have been our operations in other departments, I think it cannot be denied that our revenue proceedings have done much to ameliorate the condition of the people, and to promote the peace of the valley.

326. The present Settlement is proposed for a period of five years from Sumbut 1912 to 1916.

327. The demands exclusive of revenue are as follows:—

Lumburdar's fee, ...	5	per cent.
Putwarees „	3	„
Road Fund „	1	„
School Cess „	1	„
Total	10	per cent.

The irrigated lands of the district are those upon which the revenue is generally assessed, the "bukhras," or shares of individuals having been allotted therefrom, the unirrigated "merah" was common to the whole village, and any "dufturee" who pleased might cultivate on it according to his ability, but in process of time the portion cultivated by individuals became his acknowledged property: in some places a re-distribution has taken place, and shares of the unirrigated lands have been apportioned to the several "bukhras": in others, the produce of the unirrigated lands is the common property of families: and in others again the old system is in force, and the revenue is paid upon the irrigated shares, the produce of the unirrigated being taken away by any of the dufturees who choose to cultivate it.

328. In most villages there is a considerable quantity of "baree," or lands in the proximity of the village site, or detached plots amongst the houses, or in the beds of nullahs, which is not liable to assessment. It is the property of the dufturees, and from it are usually assigned the small "inams" of village servants, priests, and holy men.

329. Until the measurement has been completed, therefore, it will be impossible to determine accurately the rate at which the revenue falls on the holdings of the several proprietors, because they frequently possess more unirrigated lands than irrigated, and the revenue being assessed upon the latter, will often appear to fall at disproportionately high rates.

330. I have not, however, recorded these unirrigated lands as free of assessment, but have included them with the irrigated, and when the measurements are completed the revenue can be re-distributed at irrigated and unirrigated rates respectively.

331. In Eusufzai, where the waste lands are extensive, the right of occupancy is a question of some importance, and although I have done but a small portion of the Settlement there, I recommend that the portion actually under cultivation be alone included in the village boundaries, the remainder being marked off as waste land available for future cultivation and assessment. It will only be necessary to record the proprietorship of such tracts, in order that when the lands are occupied the parties entitled to receive the malikana fee of ten per cent. upon the jumma, may be known. The distribution of water amongst the villages is a constant source of feud. Four or five villages have a joint right in one irrigation cut, and are together responsible for its maintenance. These cuts are supplied from the rivers by feeders, formed by bunds in the bed of the stream which turn the water into them; the further distribution is very rudely made by means of wooden regulators, and the substitution of masonry work is urgently required, the cost of which would not be great. In the Khalsa Tuppah, where the canals are brought from a great distance, an establishment was kept up by the Sikhs for their clearance, and for the fair distribution of the water. This is still maintained, and a small "abiana" fee levied from the villages according to ancient custom.

332. Most of the canals have a sufficient supply of water for two or three mills, and when it is not allowed to run to waste, they are not productive of injury. All the grinding in the valley is performed at these mills, manual labor of this kind being never resorted to. An improved species of machinery would be very desirable.

333. The rent-free holdings recorded in the annexed Tabular Statement are to be separately reported; they have been but temporarily excluded from assessment pending final orders, and the investigations were in progress when I left Peshawur, and will probably be submitted shortly.

334. I would, however, solicit the orders of Government in regard to the village "inam," the nature of which I have above explained, and which have been excluded from assessment in the same way as ordinary mafees. They are now, in fact, small grants to the most influential persons of the village communities, and answer to the endowments to Chow-

dries and others recently introduced in other parts of the Punjab. We have in them the means of enforcing co-operation with us, on the part of leading members of the community; but I fear they are beginning to be looked upon as mere hereditary grants unaccompanied by any obligations on the part of the recipient. It will be readily gathered from preceding parts of this Report, how essential such co-operation must be to the Magistrate at Peshawur. What with factions on one side, and apathy and indifference on the other, it is difficult to arrive at the truth in all serious cases. I would suggest that the nature of the grants, as rewards for general good service and assistance to the Officers of the Government, be declared—and that they be liable to forfeiture if those conditions are not acted up to. A more lenient mode of procedure would be their temporary suspension for neglect or misconduct, and I would propose that the power of suspension be vested in the Commissioner: forfeiture only requiring a report to higher authority. I believe that this measure, more than any other, would tend to diminish crime in this district. You will observe that I do not propose the transfer of such grants from men who do not comply with their conditions to others who would do so. This plan will doubtless suggest itself to many, but in most cases I apprehend that the jealousies, feuds, and intrigues engendered by such a proceeding would counterbalance any temporary good which might be effected. I recommend only suspension and forfeiture, the former under sanction of the Commissioner, the latter under that of the Judicial Commissioner, or of Government: such a course would be patent and intelligible to all.

335. I will now proceed to examine the assessment of each pergunnah separately according to the Statement annexed.

PERGUNNAH DAUDZAI.

336. This is the tract between the Boodin stream and Cabul River, from Michni in the north-west to Akburpûrah in the south-east.

337. It is for the most part very poor, the soil being impregnated with salt, and with the exception of a few situated near the river, the villages are small with a scanty impoverished population. It produces nothing but the most ordinary crops. A great many Hindkis have settled in this pergunnah, the most flourishing part of which owes its fertility to Zardad Khan, who excavated the canal which bears his name.

338. The Sikhs collected the revenue direct, and at the time of annexation, there were 84 Khalsa villages in Daudzai, yielding to Government an annual sum of Rs. 1,27,820. The abolition of fees, and the deductions made at the first summary settlement in 1908 reduced the amount to Rs. 1,02,324-8-0. The rates were, however, found to be too high with reference to the fall of grain prices, and at the three years' settlement made in 1909 the jumma was fixed at Rs. 1,00,144 for the whole period, including Rs. 5,525 in jagir to the Momunds.

339. Although this was collected in full, it undoubtedly pressed too heavily on the people, and I have now proposed a further reduction,

which is partly met by the resumption of 14 villages, formerly in jagir to the Michni Momunds, and which have been now assessed at Rs. 3,304.

340. The total jumma now proposed for five years, upon the 98 villages, is Rs. 90,906.

341. The detail of the Michni jagir, and the circumstances of its resumption, were reported in my letter to your address No. 247 of the 24th August 1854: but it may be briefly referred to here.

342. It dates from the time of the Delhi Emperors, and was valued originally at Rs. 8,000, consisting chiefly of villages between the Nagoman and Shah Alum branches of the Cabul River. It was held in the name of the Khan at Lalpoora, who distributed the proceeds amongst his tribe, the Turrukzai clans of Momunds, the most influential man amongst whom, in the last generation, was Fyz Tulab Khan, father of the present Chief, Dilasa Khan, an old man who possesses but little importance in the tribe, but who has throughout remained on our side. Rahmdad Khan of Michni, acquired influence under the Barrukzais, and Yar Mahomed made over to him in jagir the villages of Hurrianghur, Khut, and Yargojo. The Momunds bound themselves on this occassion to refrain from injuring the "bunds" thrown up below Michni, to lead the waters of the Cabul River into the canals which irrigate the villages of Khulil and Daudzai. The Sikhs resumed some of the lands and left them 15 villages (14 of which are now resumed) valued collectively at Rs. 6,000.

343. In 1851 they resorted to their old practices; and deprived some of the villages of Daudzai of water, owing to a dispute between them and Anwur Khan, of Bela-Buramud-Khail, a Khalsa village, regarding the mortgage of lands belonging to the latter. The tribe revolted and Sir Colin Campbell acted against them for several months, destroying their villages of Dubb and Sadeen, and placing a fort at Michni. In 1852 they submitted, and the jagir was restored to them on the payment of an annual tribute of Rs. 6,000.

344. Their submission, however, was but partial, and in 1854 they refused to pay the tribute, and it became necessary to send a force against them. Brigadier Cotton destroyed their village of Shah Musah Khail, and the jagir was again resumed. On this occasion a part only of the tribe went into revolt; such as remained, were permitted to hold their shares on the payment of an equivalent proportion of the tribute, the rest of the land remaining at the disposal of the Government.

345. The proprietary rights in these lands originally belonged to men of the Daudzai tribe, but the Momunds gradually acquired them—partly by violence, and partly by receiving them in mortgage. Many of the proprietors were slain, others fled, and the rest remained as cultivators of the soil.

346. The tribute payable by men who did not join in the revolt, is Rs. 4-13-6 per bukhra, and the shares of those parties are accurately

recorded and included in the khewut: the sum amounts to Rs. 250. In my letter above quoted, I calculated that Rs. 2,600 would be a a fair jumma for the remainder of the resumed jagir; its proposed assessment is Rs. 3,054, or upon the 14 villages, including tribute, Rs. 3,304. The engagements have been made partly with the Momunds who remained in possession, and partly with the restored proprietors.

PERGUNNAH DOABA.

347. This district lies between the Cabul and Swat Rivers, and with the exception of a strip of merah under the hills, is well watered by canals from both streams. The villages are for the most part thriving, and the country better wooded than other parts.

348. The district was partly in jagir to the Barukzai Sirdars, and under the Sikhs was very highly taxed; the local authorities, and the Sirdars, extorting as much as they could. From these causes we found many of the villages rapidly going to ruin, and the inroads of the hill Momunds in 1851-52 was another great evil to the people.

349. After deducting the "hububat" the Sikh assessment of this pergunnah, which contains 47 Khalsa villages was Rs. 1,08,000. In my first summary settlement of the Doaba in 1908 the jummas were reduced to Rs. 91,335, and at the subsequent revision to Rs. 80,250, Rs. 82,475, and Rs. 85,550 for the years 1909, 1910, and 1911 respectively, the highest amount for the period being Rs. 22,450 below the Sikh revenues.

350. The relief thus afforded has been very great, and the district has attained a high state of prosperity. The people are industrious and quiet, and readily engaged for their lands.

351. I might perhaps have proposed a higher revenue, but the conduct of the people has been so orderly, that I was loath to make their industry and regularity in the payment of revenue, the ground for increasing the demand. There is very little alteration shewn therefore in the proposed jumma from the highest amount of the preceding settlement. It is fixed at Rs. 85,425, being a decrease of Rs. 125 upon that of the year 1911.

PERGUNNAH KHALSA.

352. This district runs to the eastward of Peshawur, and is mostly cultivated by Hindkis; the Sikhs collected its revenues through Hindû farmers, the chief of whom was Durbara Singh who continued to farm the district after annexation.

353. The villages are mostly small and the soil poor, with a great extent of unirrigated waste. The Sikh revenue of Khalsa was Rs. 96,988, or after deducting fees Rs. 77,914. A summary settlement was made for three years, when the jumma was fixed at Rs. 65,872, Rs. 67,872, and Rs. 70,172 for the years 1909, 1910, and 1911 respectively.

354. In most villages this has been found equitable, but some have been transferred from the Hushtnuggur district since that settlement, in which large reductions have had to be made, I have also had to reduce the jumma of a few villages whose lands are unirrigated; they are situated on the merah towards the hills, and have extensive tracts attached to them. In favorable seasons they might pay very much larger sums than those proposed, but in a settlement for 5 years it must be remembered that with a high jumma, one bad season would ruin the village. The other reductions are small sums, the details of which are given in the tabular statement accompanying, and the jumma of the 55 Khalsa villages amounts to Rs. 60,029 or Rs. 10,143 less than the highest sum demanded at the last settlement, and Rs. 17,885 less than the original Sikh assessment.

PERGUNNAH KHUTTUK.

355. This is a very poor district, south of the Cabul River, between Naoshera and the Indus. The best villages are situated in the narrow strip between the hills and the river, but the soil is for the most part sandy and unproductive. The other villages are in the adjacent low range of hills; there is also a small tract, belonging to Khuttuk, on the north side of the Cabul River, bordering on Eusufzai.

356. As explained in a previous Chapter, the Khuttuk country extends far to the south, and prior to the Sikh rule was in possession of the Khans of that tribe, who received one-fourth of the produce from the cultivators, and a cash rent on wells. Subsequent to Runjeet Singh's conquest, the portion now paying revenue to Government was confiscated, and the Khans received the hill portion only in jagir, the resumed portion being farmed out to cultivators.

357. The average sum realized at that period was Rs. 49,000, but in 1907, when the extra cesses were abolished, the demand was reduced to Rs. 36,699. At the summary settlement in 1909, a further reduction was made, and the jumma fixed at Rs. 29,641.

358. This has been found to work well, balances have been unknown, and the people have readily taken up their leases. Though poor, they are industrious and well behaved, and their condition is improving every year; this is greatly due to the excellent management, and firm but conciliatory demeanour of Colonel Dhunraj, the Tehseeldar. I have not thought it necessary to propose any reduction at the present settlement, except in a few cases, amounting in all to Rs. 2,554, leaving a jumma of Rs. 27,209.

PERGUNNAH KHULIL.

359. The upper portion of this district is very poor, and consists chiefly of scattered villages, the property of the Arbabs, and made over to them by the Sikhs with a view of checking the inroads, in that

quarter, of the Michni Momunds. About Peshawur and on the north of the Bara stream, there are some large and thriving villages, but the remainder of the Tuppah is waste and intersected with ravines.

360. At annexation we found the Arbabs in possession of large jagîrs, for the proximity of the Khyber tribes rendered this portion of the valley peculiarly liable to inroads, and the Sikhs were content to assign the revenues to those who undertook to keep them in check.

361. There are now 48 Khalsa villages of Khulil, the nominal valuation of which at the above-mentioned period was Rs. 1,11,307. But Rs. 20,000 of this was in jagîr to the Arbabs and others, who also farmed the remainder.

362. In 1907 the abolition of extra cesses reduced the jumma to Rs. 95,236, but the Arbabs continued to farm the greater number of the villages, and the competition of rival Mulliks prevented any further material reduction when the first summary settlement was made, and the jumma fixed at Rs. 89,473.

363. But in 1909 the misconduct of the Arbabs led to their seizure and deportation to Lahore, whence they were subsequently allowed to return: but their jagîrs were resumed, and they remained in possession of their hereditary estates only, which were exempted from the payment of revenue.

364. The sudden departure of these men who had up to that time held the farm of the Tuppah in their own hands caused great confusion. The fate of the Arbabs being uncertain, the people would not take up the leases, and many villages were held kham. Some of the communities who were induced to engage with the Government broke down; and it became evident that the revenue was greatly in excess of what might offer a remunerative return to the proprietors, now called on for the first time to pay their rents in cash.

365. Moreover, as above explained, beyond the abolition of cesses there had been no material reduction of the jumma in Khulil, where the annual balances consequently became large, and where everything presented the apprearance of over-taxation.

366. I have considered it necessary to enter into these details, to account for the large reduction which is now proposed to be made, leaving a jumma of Rs. 58,920, or Rs. 36,316 less than that of the year 1907.

367. But this latter sum included the nominal valuation of the jagîrs, which was in excess of the real value of those lands by no less than Rs. 12,000; and if to this is added the sum of Rs. 8,000 on account of land taken up for public purposes, the actual reduction of revenue will amount only to Rs. 16,316, and is not more than has been at various times deducted from the demand in the other districts of Peshawur.

368. The Government, indeed, realized a much larger sum from Khulil when it was farmed by the Arbabs, but their extortions left nothing to the people, whereas there is now a fair prospect of remuneration for every industrious proprietor, and in lieu of an obstinate refusal to engage for their villages, there has been an eagerness on the part of all to take up the leases.

PERGUNNAH KUSBAH BEGRAM.

369. This portion of the Hazûr Tahsîl consists of fruit gardens in the vicinity of the city and suburbs of Peshawur. The lands are highly prized, and are chiefly the property of Khans and old retainers of the former Governments. Nearly half are in jagîr, and some few are Government Nuzûl property.

370. Some of the finest of these gardens were cut down, the land being required for the rear of cantonments, and roads have been carried through others, leading round the city and cantonments, and from the latter to the Kohat Road.

371. The cultivators are chiefly Awans, and have an hereditary right of occupancy, with a title of certain fixed shares of the produce. Where the proprietary right is vested in Government, I have allowed these cultivators to engage for the revenue.

372. I have not proposed much reduction in this Tuppah, and that chiefly on account of lands brought into cantonments, or taken up for roads. The jumma has been fixed at Rs. 14,828, or Rs. 3,190 less than that of the year 1911.

PERGUNNAH MOMUND.

373. This pergunnah lies to the south of the Bara River, in the neighbourhood of which stream most of its villages are situated: the cultivated area may be divided into the "payan," or villages irrigated by cuts from the Bara, and the "Koh daman," or villages at the foot of the hills, which are irrigated by springs. The intervening plain, or "merah," is unirrigated, and after traversing the Momund and Khalsa Districts, terminates at the lower range of the Khuttuk Hills.

374. The villages are, for the most part, large and thriving, the chief cause which has led to the partial deterioration of some of them, being the feuds which disorganized the brotherhood, and from the effects of which they are now barely recovering.

375. Under the Duranees, the Momund tribe maintained their allegiance, and paid revenue to the Government through the Arbabs, with whom, in later times, other farmers were associated. The average jumma of the pergunnah during this period was Rs. 87,000, of which Rs. 36,000 was in jagîr to the Arbabs and others, a balance of Rs. 51,000 remaining to the Government.

376. Under the Sikhs the revenue was gradually increased, until at annexation it had risen to Rs. 1,49,000.

377. In 1906 Colonel Lawrence farmed the district for Rs. 1,27,575, exclusive of villages in jagîr.

378. In 1907 the "hububat" or extra fees were abolished, and the district was again farmed for Rs. 1,10,087.

379. In 1908 I was directed to make a summary settlement for one year, but owing to the advanced period of the season, I could effect but little, beyond the slight reduction of the jumma to Rs. 1,07,412. Several of the Mulliks were, however, induced to take up the leases of their villages, and the intervention of foreign farmers was, in a great measure, dispensed with.

380. In the following year, 1909, I was able to make a more thorough revision of the settlement for three years, and a report of proceedings was furnished in my letter No. 141 of 4th June 1853, to the late Commissioner. At that time there were 27 Khalsa villages and the jumma fixed was as follows: 1,00,200, 1,02,100, and 1,03,420 for the years 1909, 1910, and 1911, respectively, the last named jumma continuing in force until a new settlement should be made. Upon the whole it has worked well, but the jumma, having been chiefly fixed upon the average value of grain collections in former years, was still too high, when the market prices fell as they did. The Mulliks too, for the first time, entered into engagements for their villages, and from their characteristic improvidence frequently failed, hostile relatives being always at hand to increase the difficulties of a falling man.

381. There have been large balances, but these have been partly owing to the late Tehseeldar, Mahomed Ahsan Khan, who was too much in the hands of the leading men of the district.

382. At the present settlement there were 28 Khalsa villages, and the jumma has been fixed upon them at Rs. 97,895, being a reduction of Rs. 5,525; the reasons which rendered this reduction necessary in each case are detailed in the Tabular Statement accompanying.

383. One village only, that of Achur, remains in farm in consequence of the proprietors refusing to engage without further reduction of jumma, which I consider to be quite unreasonable.

PERGUNNAH HUSHTNUGGUR.

384. This district, so called from the eight larger villages of which it was formerly composed, and from which the remainder have subsequently sprung, is situated to the east of the Swat River, and adjoins the pergunnah of Eusufzai.

385. By far the greatest portion of the land is unirrigated merah, which in favorable seasons is extensively cultivated.

386. In the time of the Durance Kings it was held in jagîr by the Ali Khail Khans, and subsequently by Yar Mahomed. When Runjeet

Singh annexed Peshawur, he made over the Hushtnuggur District to Saiud Mahomed Khan, and the Sikhs never collected its revenues.

387. The jagîr was valued at Rs. 1,50,000 including fees; after annexation was farmed in 1906 for Rs. 1,39,173-12. In the following year Abdul Hukk, Extra Assistant, made a summary settlement, confirming the former leases with the deduction only of extra fees. Some villages have been since transferred, but the pergunnah, as it now stands, was assessed in that year (1907) at Rs. 1,21,950.

388. In the following year I revised the settlement for three years, and reported my proceedings to the late Board of Administration in April 1851.

389. The jumma then proposed was Rs. 1,18,345, or, deducting that two villages, Kheshgî and Nowshera, since transferred to the Khalsa District, Rs. 1,07,895. The Board, in confirming the settlement, expressed an opinion that sufficient reduction had not been given, and circumstances have happened which render further reduction necessary.

390. In the year following the settlement, Ajoon Khan of Tungi fled to Swat, in the vain hope of coercing us to grant him a jagîr; the course was one not unfrequently adopted in former times, but the folly of which is now understood. A few Mulliks followed his example, and a short time afterwards, in April 1852, he made a midnight assault on the Tehseel at Charsadda, and murdered the Tehseeldar and several of the establishment. He received lands in jagîr from the Saiud of Swat, and commenced a series of raids on our frontier, inciting Mulliks from Hushtnuggur to join him, which tended to keep up a spirit of inquietude in our villages, and seriously to disturb the arrangements of the late settlement. The villages were at that time mostly in the hands of the Mulliks, to whom the proprietors paid half the produce of their lands; the flight of the former, therefore, threw the communities, to which they belonged, into disorder, which was checked by the expedition against the Osman Khail and Ranizai tribes, under Sir Colin Campbell.

391. Since that time Ajoon Khan's attempts to disturb the villages have failed, he has been joined by none of the Mulliks, and is himself now in great difficulties.

392. There have been two floods also since the settlement, which caused great injury to Hushtnuggur, several of the villages having been wholly washed away, and to the above calamities must be added the great mortality caused by an epidemic in 1852-53.

393. The balances in past years have been very great, and the jumma was evidently too high, being in fact, as reported in my former letter, only Rs. 4,000 less than the actual revenue realized in the time of the Barakzai Sirdars. Reductions have been liberally made in other districts, and in order to place the Hushtnuggur villages on an equality with them, I have proposed an assessment of Rs. 94,035, or Rs. 13,860 less than that of the year 1908.

394. But the deterioration of most of the villages was partial, and they will recover. It may be expected that at the expiration of the present settlement, the assessment may be raised to the former amount.

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395. Having thus noticed the financial result of the settlement in each district, (exclusive of Eusufzai,) I would advert briefly to the general Statement appended.

396. It will be seen that the revenue at annexation, that is in Sumbut 1906, was nominally Rs. 7,81,955-7. In the following year the extra fees levied under the Sikh rule were abolished, and the sum of Rs. 6,72,946-11-1 was demanded, which was, therefore, the Sikh revenue exclusive of those fees.

397. In 1908 a summary settlement was made in a portion of the district, when a further reduction was sanctioned, and the jumma fixed at Rs. 6,29,484-8.

398. In 1909 the assessment of the remaining portion of the district, except Khuleel, was brought under revision, and a settlement made for three years at a gradually increasing jumma of Rs. 5,96,397-10-6, Rs. 6,03,017-2, and Rs. 6,09,787-6 for those years respectively.

399. This has proved too high, balances have annually occurred, and the revenue, which was originally leased upon the proceeds of former years, when the district was chiefly in farm, has been found more than can be paid by the people, who have engaged directly with the Government for cash rents, and when the market price of grain has fallen to an unprecedented extent, owing to the abundant supply thrown into the market.

400. Each year has made us better acquainted with the people, and the local circumstances affecting each particular village. At the present settlement this knowledge has been made use of in equalizing the revenue, and reducing it to a sum which would leave a fair profit to the proprietors; the chief reduction being in Khuleel, the assessment of which Tuppah had remained up to this time at very little below the Sikh rates.

401. The jumma now proposed is Rs. 5,21,715 exclusive of jagîrs, or Rs. 1,51,231-11-1 less than the Sikh revenue of 1907. But the latter included the nominal valuation of jagîrs, and the assessment of lands occupied for public purposes, and if these items are included, the actual reduction is Rs. 1,00,000, or about 15 per cent.

402. According to the proximate calculation of area, the average revenue rate of the whole district is Rs. 2-7-4 per jarib, or Rs. 4-14-8 per acre.

403. There is considerable variation, however, in the several pergunnahs, from Rs. 6-4-3 in the rich lands of Kusbah, to annas 8 in the sterile tract of Khuttuk; the cause of these inequalities will be readily perceived from the remarks which have been made in the foregoing statements.

103512

404. It only remains to report my proceedings in the Tuppah of Loondkhur in Eusufzai; the only portion of that district, the settlement of which I was enabled to undertake prior to leaving Peshawur.

LOONDKHUR TUPPAH OF EUSUFZAI.

405. This Tuppah was originally occupied by branches of the Barzai clan of the Eusufzai, whose chief seats are in Swat; they were the only clan which kept possession of lands in the plain after the separation of the tribes of Mundun and Yoosuf formerly related.

406. The Barzai clans, then occupying the valley of Loondkhur, were the Aba Khail, Burrut Khail, Moosa Khail, Muttorzai, and Hazee Khail.

407. To strengthen themselves against the encroachments of the Mundunzae they called in the Khuttuks (who had already possessed themselves of some country north of the Cabool River), who were accompanied by the Osman Khail tribe of Afreedees. After a time those Khuttuks dispossessed the Muttorzai, and occupied their lands: and the Osman Khail similarly ejected the Moosa Khail.

408. The Tuppah is now occupied by three mixed tribes, and is divided into four parts. First, Loondkhur Proper, held by the Khuttuks; and 2nd, Osman Khail, held by the Afreedee tribe of that name; 3rd, Lab-i-wod, and 4th, Koh-i-Daman, both held by the Aba Khail, Burrut Khail, and Hazee Khail.

409. The district is one of the wildest in Eusufzai, and until the present settlement, we have exercised but little direct interference with its affairs. Shortly after annexation, a brigade was sent to this frontier for the punishment of the village of Palli, which harbored marauders from Swat. The villages of Osman Khail have continued, from time to time, to give trouble, and during the settlement a detachment was maintained in the valley to coerce the village of Sungao, the people of which place had rendered the roads insecure by their robberies and murders.

410. Two Khuttuk Mulliks of Loondkhur, by name Gholam and Suddur, have hitherto been held responsible for the revenue, which was fixed at Rs. 6,000, and for the general peace of the country. Our Police were not introduced, and the Tuppah could scarcely be said to have been more than tributary.

411. The land is held and cultivated according to the original Pathan custom: there is nothing to guide us beyond an ill-defined right of occupancy. The dufturees, or proprietors, cultivated as many "koolbahs" as they pleased, paying no revenue to Government; the fukeers, or hereditary cultivators, had each a right to cultivate a certain number of koolbahs, paying the Government revenue thereon, and rendering to the dufturee personal service, furnishing him with grass for his horses, and blankets, &c., for his guests. If they cultivated more than they could claim by right, they paid a portion of the produce of all land in

excess of that right to the dufturee, in addition to the Government revenue. This share varied from one-third to one-tenth. Tenants at will cultivated on the same conditions, viz., payment of revenue, and a share of the produce to the dufturee: they were held liable for two harvests, whether they cultivated the land in both seasons or not.

412. The two Mulliks above mentioned collected, as a general rule, three Rs. per koolbah, making such exemptions as they thought fit: they realized much more than was paid to Government, and the people were subjected to many vexatious demands by them, but it is impossible to ascertain their profits with exactness.

413. My operations in this district have been restricted to bringing the people under direct management. I have assessed each village separately, and endeavoured to record the rights of individuals as nearly as this can be done in a society organized like that of Loondkhur.

414. The dufturees of the village have been shown, together with the hereditary cultivators, and tenants at will occupying the lands of each: and the number of ploughs for which each individual is responsible to Government. It was necessary that some commencement should be made for bringing the lands of the dufturees under assessment; and I have accordingly fixed the number of ploughs which they are to hold free during the present settlement in acknowledgment of their proprietary right, revenue being demandable from the remainder.

415. The main difficulty was in the appointment of lumburdars, as no Mullik would willingly agree to pay his revenue through another. I considered it more prudent, under these circumstances, to avoid a selection which would inevitably lead to feuds and jealousies, and therefore assigned no fees to the engaging proprietors, making all the Mulliks of a village responsible for its revenues; the ploughs, which were recorded as "rent-free," being held to be sufficient remuneration for all the services required from them. At the same time I experimentally nominated the leading men in each village to be the medium of conveying the money to the Tahseel, and for performing other special duties, without adding to their emoluments, but requiring all other Mulliks to assist them.

416. I have before observed that in Eusufzai the Hindoo traders and the artizans were called on to pay a share of the revenue, each house being reckoned as half a plough; I deemed it imprudent at this stage of our proceedings entirely to free them, especially as they are all exempted from watch and ward and other village duties: but I excluded from assessment all the poorest, and carefully recorded the liabilities of the others.

417. Annexed is a Table showing the result; whilst the people pay actually far less than they did to the former lessees, the Government revenue is slightly increased.

APPENDICES.

Part I. Appendix A.

Average Revenues realized by the Dooranees from the Peshawur district.

Details.	Land Revenue.	Fees.	Total.
Momund	79,400	8,000	87,400
Khuleel	87,580	22,750	1,10,330
Kusbah	6,740	... ...	6,740
Doaba	1,02,300	25,100	1,27,400
Daodzie	76,870	18,235	95,105
Khalsa	82,200	6,340	88,540
Khuttuk	64,000	6,000	70,000
Hushtnuggur	1,00,000	... ...	1,00,000
Eusufzai	... ...	... ...	... ...
Total	5,99,090	86,425	6,85,515
Town Dues	... ...	... ...	80,000
Hindû Tax	... ...	... ...	6,000
Water Mills	... ...	... ...	4,000
Other Taxes	... ...	... ...	2,000
Total ...	... ...	... ...	92,000
Grand Total ...	5,99,090	86,425	7,77,515

Part I. Appendix B.

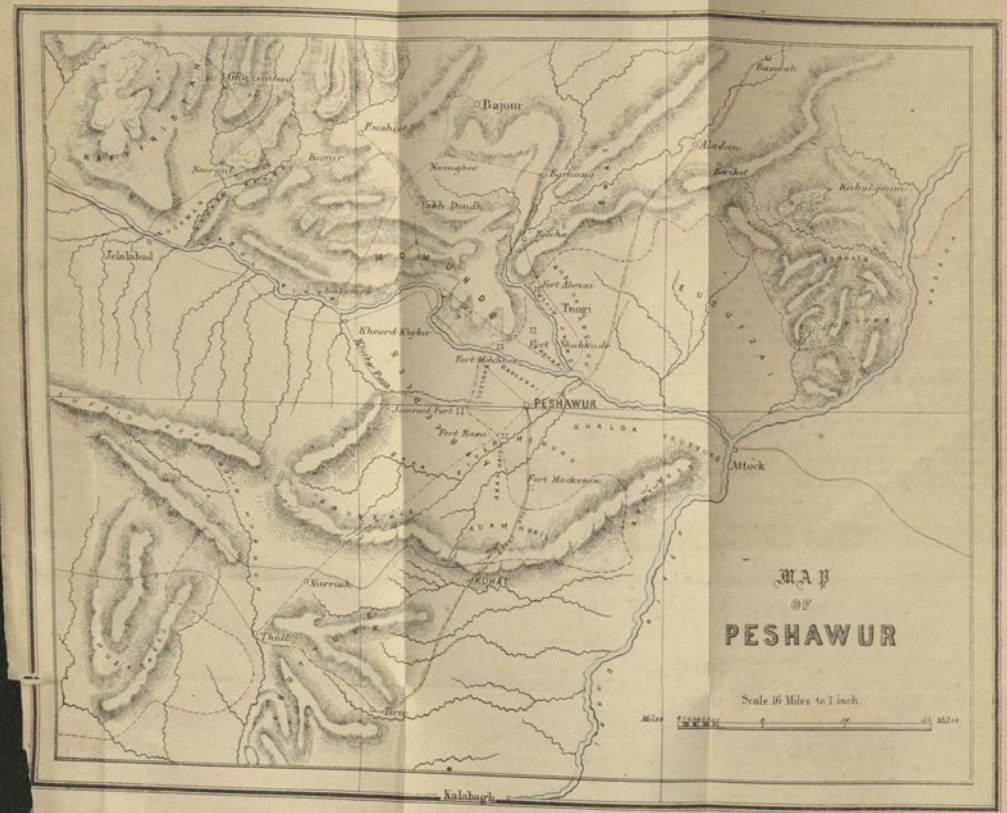
Statement showing the Revenues under the Sikh administration of the Peshawur district.

Detail.	Sumbut 1893 1836-37 Harri Singh.	1894 1837-38 Genl. Avitabile.	1895 1838-39 Do.	1896 1839-40 Do.	1897 1840-41 Do.	1899 1842-43 Tej Singh.	Average of Sikh revenue from 1893 to 1899, 1836-37 to 1842-43.
Momund	1,07,900	1,06,850	1,06,645	1,34,338	1,28,600	1,45,070	
Khuleel	98,566	96,500	89,347	1,17,578	1,05,480	1,15,500	
Kusbah	32,870	26,640	28,970	34,596	32,565	41,604	
Doaba	1,10,654	1,10,250	1,09,830	1,37,984	1,38,422	1,22,800	
Daodzie	86,596	81,740	78,800	99,570	98,480	1,18,170	
Khalsa	93,450	87,040	72,800	1,01,161	90,329	91,100	
Khuttuk	66,430	74,708	78,000	93,000	1,00,000	1,00,000	
Hushtnuggur ...	1,00,000	1,00,000	1,00,000	1,25,000	1,25,000	1,25,000	
Eusufzai	21,000	40,000	40,000	40,000	70,000	1,38,000	
Total of Land Revenues	7,17,436	7,23,728	7,04,392	8,83,227	8,88,876	9,96,944	
Town duties	97,900	85,600	82,300	1,00,000	1,00,000	1,31,775	
Adalat	11,700	9,600	9,600	12,000	12,000	12,000	
Mint	2,200	3,500	1,600	2,000	2,000	5,356	
Water Mills	8,820	8,980	6,320	7,900	7,900	7,900	
Other Taxes	780	780	780	900	2,500	14,000	
Total ...	1,21,400	1,08,460	1,00,600	1,22,800	1,24,400	1,71,031	
Grand Total ...	8,38,866	8,32,188	8,04,992	10,06,027	10,13,276	11,67,975	

Part I. Appendix C.

Statement showing the Sikh assignments from revenues exclusive of mowajib.

Detail.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1899.	Remarks.
Momund	1,387	26,500	26,950	41,117	15,563	16,453	I am unable, from local records, to ascertain the exact amount of mowajib or service jagirs granted annually; but they must have been on an average from 2 to 2½ lakhs.
Khuleel	300	7,450	370	8,564	9,597	13,729	
Kusbah	280	7,440	7,600	10,926	13,560	22,900	
Doaba	32,518	64,160	59,200	59,760	88,865	40,867	
Daodzie	5,360	28,450	28,700	39,143	31,790	21,900	
Khalsa	1,300	11,000	11,100	16,564	20,750	17,200	
Khuttuk	400	4,960	4,960	12,000	12,000	14,718	
Hushtnuggur	1,00,000	1,00,000	1,00,000	1,25,000	1,25,000	1,25,000	
Eusufzai	....	.....	....	.....	....	17,000	
Total	1,41,545	2,49,960	2,38,880	3,13,074	3,17,125	2,89,767	
Amount of Revenue ...	7,17,466	7,23,728	7,04,392	8,83,227	8,88,876	9,96,944	
Balance from land Revenue	5,75,921	4,73,768	4,65,512	5,70,153	5,71,751	7,07,177	
Town dues	200	250	250	3,800	3,800	12,550	
Adalat	.....	450	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Mint	.....	.....	.....	.....	... .	.....	
Water Mills	400	2,600	3,260	4,459	4,000	5,000	
Other Taxes	.....	.....	780	900	1,000	2,000	
Total of assignment ...	1,42,145	2,53,260	2,43,170	3,22,233	3,25,925	3,09,317	
Total Revenue	8,38,866	8,32,188	8,04,992	10,06,027	10,13,276	11,67,975	
Balance	6,96,721	5,78,928	5,61,822	6,83,794	6,87,351	8,58,658	


Ghuznibad
Bajour
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Pusheet
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Barkot
Kabulgamu
Nawagai
Jakh Dandh
Jelalabad
Fort Abazai
Tungi
Khaiberi Khyber
Fort Shahkuda
Fort Michni
PESHAWUR
Jumrood Fort
Fort Bara
KHALSA
Attock
Fort Mackenzie
KOHAT
Thall
Kulabagh
MAP
OF
PESHAWUR
Scale 16 Miles to 1 inch.

No. 417.

FROM

R. H. DAVIES, ESQR.,

Secretary to Government, Punjab,

To

THE FINANCIAL COMMISSIONER,

LAHORE.

Dated CAMP JHELUM, *23rd April* 1864.

SIR,

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor to acknowledge the receipt of the report by Major James, C. B., of the Settlement of the Land Revenue of the Peshawur District, exclusive of the Eusufzai Pergunnah, and to convey the following observations.

2. The pergunnahs reported upon are those of Daoodzai, Doaba, Khalsa, Khuttuck, Khuleel, Kusba, Begram, Momund, and Hushtnugur. They contain an area of 1,410 square miles. The population is stated at 2,73,169, exclusive of 54,000 resident in the city of Peshawur.

3. The aggregate revenue of these pergunnahs, including cesses, amounted under the Dooranee Government to Rs. 6,85,515 under the annual settlements made by the Shikhs from A. D. 1836-37 to A. D. 1842-43, the revenue was raised (without reckoning town dues and other taxes) from Rs. 7,17,466 to Rs. 9,96,944. Under the annual settlements made by British Officers from A. D. 1848-49 to 1854-55, the revenue was lowered from Rs. 8,35,277 to Rs. 6,03,017, or to the Dooranee jumma deducting cesses.

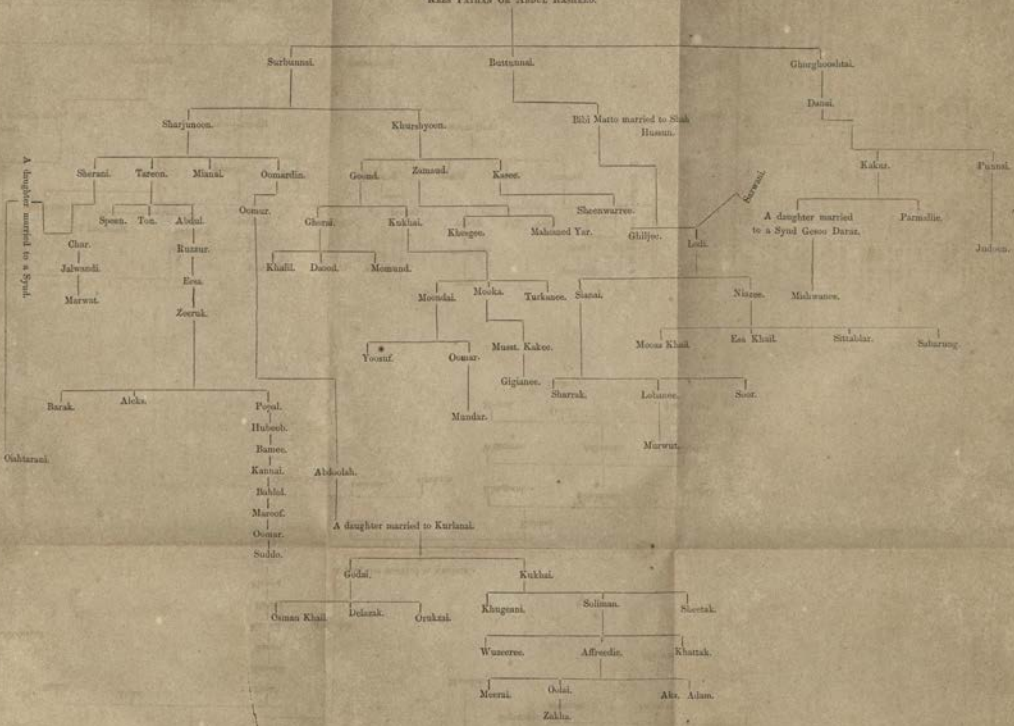
4. The result of Major James' revision made in A. D. 1855-56 is a further reduction to Rs. 5,29,247, of which Rs. 7,532 are alienated in jageers,

5. In common with other parts of the Punjab, the fall in the price of agricultural produce, occurring in the Peshawur District, soon after British occupation, rendered the revenue demand, which had been calculated by the prices of dear years, unsuitable and oppressive. The reductions granted by Major James, though apparently large, are not in excess of those necessitated by the fluctuation of prices, and His Honor entirely approves of their having been made. Indeed it is with same surprise and doubt that His Honor observes it stated that the average rate on cultivation is still Rs. 4-14-8 per acre.

Part II. Appendix D

Genealogical Table of the Afghan Tribes.

KEES PATHAN OR ABDUL RASHEED.



Appendix E.

Table showing the division of the Adam Khail and Aka Khail tribes of Afreedies with the villages belonging to each and number of matchlocks.

Tribe.	Sub-divisions.	Villages.	Number of matchlocks.	Total.
ADAM KHAIL.	Gulla Khail.	Ton Suppar ...	400	
		Okhoee	80	
		Suplkay	20	
	*	Zarghoon Khail.	180	
		Toone Khail ...	30	
	*	Sharakki	130	
	*	Bastee Khail ...	140	
				980
	Ashee Khail.	Kandao	120	
		Ali Khail	60	
		Kulla Khail ...	500	
		Prudee	50	
		Mohamdi	30	
				760
	Jowakih.	Boree	140	
		Toorkay	300	
		Sorkay	300	
		Jammû	100	
		Ghariba	60	
		Paya...	120	
		Bazid Khail ...	20	
				1,040
	Hussun Khail. *	Kooi	200	
		Torûnah	200	
		Yanakhor... ...	300	
		Akhor	180	
				880
		Total ...	.....	3,660

Tribe.	Sub-divisions.	Villages.	Number of matchlocks.	Total.
AKA KHAIL.	Bussa Khail.	Khurma Sung ..	50	
		Murgho China ..	100	
		Gurah-ka-melah.	20	
		Zao	60	
		Sheeree Melah ..	80	
		Pusta Pailah ...	50	
		Salla Khanah ...	60	
				420
	Sunzul Khail.	Gunderaj	70	
		Batooraj	60	
		Lundaysum ..	70	
		Todah China ...	50	
		Nawegaray ...	50	
				300
	Sher Khail.	Pusta Hoonah ..	80	
		Tassû Killa ..	40	
		Gooree	60	
		Jurunda Killa ..	120	
				300
	Sooltan Khail.	Heero Meelah...	50	
		Rajmeer Melah.	30	
		Speeo Killa ...	50	
		Mandai	50	
		Kundooreh ...	20	
				200
	Muddday Khail.	Alum Killa ...	70	
		Ghazah Melah...	50	
		Smutsee	20	
		Nawegaray ...	60	
				200
		Meeray Khail ...	———	60
		Atuma Khail ..		
		(Agurhee on do.)	———	10
		Total ...	.....	1,490

The villages marked * are in the Kohat Pass.

Appendix F.

Tabular Statement of Assessment of the Peshawar District from 1912 *to* 1916, *exclusive of Enamfasi.*

Name of Tahsil.	Name of Tappa.	Jumma in past years. 1905 1908-09	1906 1909-10	1907 1910-11	1908 1911-12	1909 1912-13	1910 1913-14	1911 1914-15	Total jumma of past seven years.	Average jumma of the seven.	Proposed jumma for 5 years of the new settlement.	Number of inhabitated sites in the village.	Rain-fall.	Remarks for comments.	Average area of inhabitable in jaribs.	Average No. of persons per jarib.	Area in cultivated and in fallow.	Population.	
Daudzai ...	Daudzai ...	1,37,230 5 0	1,39,892 8 0	1,07,514 8 0	1,02,334 8 0	1,00,144 0 0	1,00,144 0 0	1,00,144 0 0	7,64,023 13 0	1,09,374 13 5½	90,906 khalsa, 97,826 jagir, M. 5,840	Bakhrabs. 1,7211 J. K. M. 34,923-3-13	Bakhrabs. 1,582 J. K. M. 3,899-4-3	Bakhrabs. 1,6012 J. K. M. 30,327-1-16	J. K. M. 32-2-10½	1-12-10½	101	36,641	
Doaba	Doaba ...	1,40,689 7 0	1,39,219 7 0	1,01,382 8 0	91,325 2 0	80,320 0 0	83,473 0 0	80,350 0 0	6,35,961 11 0	99,225 1 7	85,425	Bakhrabs. 5,6032 J. K. M. 51,366-3-15	Bakhrabs. 1151 J. K. M. 344-0-3	Bakhrabs. 5,439 J. K. M. 51,322-0-18	5-3-1½	3-12-8½	99	34,252	
Khalsa Khattak ...	Khalsa ...	96,989 4 0	94,164 4 0	77,914 2 0	73,753 9 0	63,872 0 0	67,872 0 0	78,172 0 0	5,46,715 10 0	78,102 2 8	60,029	Bakhrabs. 2,059 J. K. M. 70,896-0-0	J. K. M. 6,743-0-0	J. K. M. 81,343-0-0	26-0-0	0-15-7	174	26,976	
Dim	Khattak ...	49,331 8 3	49,482 8 0	36,699 5 6	30,695 0 0	29,641 0 0	29,641 0 0	29,769 8 0	2,55,623 13 9	36,517 11 1½	27,309	Bakhrabs. 2,641 J. K. M. 61,790-0-0	J. K. M. 7,229-0-0	J. K. M. 14,571-0-0	23-0-0	0-8-0	383	26,782	
Hazar Peshawar ...	Khalsa ...	1,11,997 8 3	1,11,207 8 3	93,236 11 7	89,473 11 0	89,189 4 0	89,372 2 0	89,324 14 0	6,75,071 11 1	96,439 13 0	59,200 khalsa, 31,051 jagir, M. 5,000	Bakhrabs. 9,393 J. K. M. 28,459-2-9	Bakhrabs. 699 J. K. M. 2,159-1-7	Bakhrabs. 4,337 J. K. M. 25,570-1-2	12-3-1	2-8-7	392	34,351	
Dim	Kushab Begram	17,911 13 0	14,919 2 0	17,412 8 8	16,726 0 0	17,416 4 6	18,019 0 0	18,018 0 0	1,20,422 8 6	17,173 12 4½	14,829 khalsa, 14,776 jagir, M. 30	J. K. M. 2,943-3-19	J. K. M. 592-1-18	J. K. M. 4,411-1-0	0-0-0	4-0-3½	8	2,470	Rich garden lands.
Dim	Mamund ...	1,37,683 30 0	1,37,676 4 9	1,14,797 0 0	1,15,112 0 0	1,09,009 0 0	1,07,706 0 0	1,09,920 0 0	8,27,600 14 9	1,18,229 2 1½	97,895	Bakhrabs. 3,971 J. K. M. 79,356-0-19	Bakhrabs. 231 J. K. M. 5,933-2-0	Bakhrabs. 1,474 J. K. M. 26,812-2-19	14-1-13	3-12-0½	209	40,005	
Hashtnagger ...	Hashtnagger ...	1,47,873 5 10	1,39,173 12 0	1,21,350 3 0	1,07,695 0 0	1,07,695 0 0	1,07,695 0 0	1,07,695 0 0	8,59,977 1 10	1,22,853 7 11	94,035	Bakhrabs. 5,0963 J. K. M. 21,551-2-19	Bakhrabs. 9404 J. K. M. 3,504-1-13	Bakhrabs. 4,1359 J. K. M. 25,056-0-11	6-3-13½	3-10-6½	347	6,989	
Total ...		6,51,377 15 4	7,01,905 7 6	6,12,946 11 1	6,29,464 8 0	5,36,397 10 6	6,05,647 2 0	6,09,797 8 0	47,36,866 11 11	6,76,552 4 3½	5,39,347 khalsa, 1,31,715 jagir, M. 7,302		5,10,149-0-18	35,796-1-9	2,74,810-3-16	...	3-7-4	1,410	3,72,169	

Appendix G.

Statement showing Assessment of the Loondkhur or Baizai Tappa of Eusufzai.

1	2	3	4			5	6	7	8	9	10	11
			Free.									
Number.	VILLAGE.	Kulbahs.	Mallicks.	Imams.	Others.	Total free.	Number assessed.	Annual Revenue.	Road Fund.	School Cess.	Patwarees Fees.	TOTAL.
1	Kuthing	173½	16	5	1	22	151½	437 0 0	4 6 0	4 6 0	8 12 0	458 8 0
2	Balemeli	14½	1	½	2½	4	10½	30 4 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 10 0	31 8 0
3	Udeygiran	17½	0	½	3½	4	13½	39 0 0	0 6 0	0 6 0	0 12 0	40 8 0
4	Sawadher	80½	6	5	3	14	75½	218 0 0	2 2 0	2 2 0	4 4 0	226 8 0
5	Jamalgurhi	59	4	3	3	10	49	141 4 0	1 7 0	1 7 0	2 14 0	147 0 0
6	Churchoor	14	3	½	1	4½	9½	27 8 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 8 0	28 8 0
7	Deyri	78	2	3	1½	6½	71½	206 4 0	2 1 0	2 1 0	4 2 0	214 8 0
8	Lakpani	34	4	1	½	5½	28½	82 4 0	0 13 0	0 13 0	1 10 0	85 8 0
9	Kaseniah	73½	6	2	1	9	64½	186 0 0	1 14 0	1 14 0	3 12 0	193 8 0
10	Aloo	80½	9	2	2½	13½	67	193 4 0	1 15 0	1 15 0	3 14 0	201 0 0
11	Sirolie	22	2	0	½	2½	19½	56 4 0	0 9 0	0 9 0	1 2 0	58 8 0
12	Tazagiran	55½	5	1½	0	6½	49	141 8 0	1 6 0	1 6 0	2 12 0	147 0 0
	Total Lubi Rood	711½	58	24	20	102	609½	1,758 8 0	17 8 0	17 8 0	35 0 0	1,828 8 0
13	Muttah	87	9½	1½	2½	13½	73½	212 4 0	2 1 0	2 1 0	4 2 0	220 8 0
14	Shunnozai	113	12	1	6	19	94	271 4 0	2 11 0	2 11 0	5 6 0	282 0 0
15	Babozai	202½	24	6	17	47	155½	448 8 0	4 8 0	4 8 0	9 0 0	466 8 0
	Total Kohi Daman ...	402½	45½	8½	25½	79½	323	932 0 0	9 4 0	9 4 0	18 8 0	969 0 0
16	Shergarh	50	3	2	.....	5	45	130 0 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	2 8 0	135 0 0
17	Doondiah	16½	1	½	.....	1½	15	43 8 0	0 6 0	0 6 0	0 12 0	45 0 0
18	Kalu	32½	3	½	.....	3½	29	83 8 0	0 14 0	0 14 0	1 12 0	87 0 0
19	Mian Eesa	84½	5	1	.....	6	78½	226 8 0	2 4 0	2 4 0	4 8 0	235 8 0
20	Jalala	185½	8	2	4½	14½	171	495 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	10 0 0	513 0 0
21	Dagee	25½	1	½	.....	1½	24	69 0 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	1 8 0	72 0 0
22	Peer Saddu (1)	37	3	.....	.....	3	34	98 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	2 0 0	102 0 0
23	Jangi Dher (2)	9	2	.....	.....	2	7	20 0 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 8 0	21 0 0
24	Kotkee	9	1	.....	.....	1	8	23 4 0	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 6 0	24 0 0
25	Kót	35	2	1	3	6	29	84 0 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	1 8 0	87 0 0
26	Sydabad	20	1	1	.....	2	18	52 0 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	1 0 0	54 0 0
27	Kattigurhi	36½	2	2	.....	4	32½	93 12 0	0 15 0	0 15 0	1 14 0	97 8 0
28	Loondkhur	371	29	.....	.....	29	342	986 8 0	9 14 0	9 14 0	19 12 0	1,026 0 0
	Total Loondkhur ...	912	61	16½	7½	79	833	2,403 0 0	24 0 0	24 0 0	48 0 0	2,499 0 0
29	Peepul	50	4	.....	.....	4	55	158 12 0	1 9 0	1 9 0	3 2 0	165 0 0
30	Burmoul	63½	3	.....	.....	3	62½	180 8 0	1 12 0	1 12 0	3 8 0	187 8 0
31	Kocee	107½	8	.....	1	9	98½	284 0 0	2 14 0	2 14 0	5 12 0	295 8 0
32	Mian Khan	44½	6	.....	.....	6	38½	111 0 0	1 2 0	1 2 0	2 4 0	115 8 0
33	Ghazi Baba	18½	1	.....	.....	1	17½	50 8 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	1 0 0	52 8 0
34	Kharki	204½	19	2	.....	21	183½	529 0 0	5 6 0	5 6 0	10 12 0	550 8 0
35	Sungao	32	4	.....	.....	4	28	80 12 0	0 13 0	0 13 0	1 10 0	84 0 0
	Total Otman Khail ...	513½	45	2	1	48	483½	1,394 8 0	14 0 0	14 0 0	28 0 0	1,450 8 0
	Grand Total ...	2,557½	209½	45	54	308½	2,249	6,488 0 0	64 12 0	64 12 0	129 8 0	6,747 0 0

6. Politically it is of great importance that the landholders of this valley should feel that they have been fairly and liberally dealt with, and that an improvement of their condition is to be secured by their industry.

7. The term of the Settlement was proposed for five years, and expired in A. D. 1859-60. It is understood that no material modifications have since been made, and that the jummas have worked well. The sanction of the Lieutenant Governor is now conveyed to the Settlement retrospectively, and I am to solicit that Major James may be requested to state whether he recommends any further review of the Settlement being made at the present time, or that its term be prolonged without additional investigation, and for what period?

8. Besides the pergunnahs above referred to, Major James effected a Settlement of the wild valley of Loond Khor for Rs. 6,488.

9. Much was done by Major James during the Settlement towards a determination of the claims of absentee Pathan proprietors, and towards the definition and record of the co-existing rights of various classes in the soil. On the whole there is a resemblance to the ordinary tenures in other parts of the country, which, considering the distinct nationality of the frontier Pathans, could not have been predicted. His Honor observes that the joint responsiblity of the proprietary body has been affirmed, and that the usual cesses on account of allowances to Headmen and Patwarrees, and of Roads and Schools, have been imposed.

10. It is requested that you will report whether the mafee and inam statements, alluded to in paras. 333 and 334 of the Report, have been disposed of; and also what final arrangements have been made in respect of the waste tract in pergunnah Eusufzai.

11. Major James' Report contains much valuable information concerning Afghan history and the Pathan tribes. The fiscal results of the Settlement are concisely but very clearly detailed; and the Lieutenant Governor has much satisfaction in acknowledging the sound judgment and ability which have governed his proceedings. The Report, His Honor observes, should have been submitted earlier.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) R. H. DAVIES,
Secretary to Government, Punjab.

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on 01 February, 2020